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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

BLUEMENORT: A STUDY OF PERSISTENCE IN A SECT

by

(C)

EDWARD W. VAN DYKE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

In 1969, Bluemenort, an Old Colony Mennonite community near Ft. Vermilion, Alberta, underwent sectarian division. One segment of the community opted to remain in Canada, while the other group migrated to Bolivia. In the spring of 1970, over half of the migrants returned to Canada.

As migration of the community was not expected by the anthropologist at the commencement of field research, the orientation of the study changed when these events occurred. Here was a unique opportunity for an anthropologist to observe the division of a sect and the ensuing migration.

Thus, the problems are two-fold: (1) how may the motivation to migration be explained; (2) how do the data relate to socio-cultural persistence in a sect?

Selected aspects of dissonance theory provide the point of departure for developing a model to interpret the data. From this point, dissonance is analytically divided into three types--ideo-structural, sectarian and existential. Ideo-structural dissonance occurs as a result of an apparent contradiction between a mythical community structure and the life style which should be exemplified in Bluemenort. Sectarian dissonance arises when the stance of the sect as a "part-society" is abandoned in favor of assimilation into the "larger society" or total isolation. Existential dissonance

occurs when an individual does something which he feels to be wrong and which could be done differently.

As each type of dissonance reaches an intolerable level, attempts are made to reduce the psychological tension. This explains the motivation for migration and also aids in the understanding of the process of selective and controlled change (persistence) in Bluemenort.

As a result, this study suggests that the process of persistence among the Old Colony is characterized by a more or less cyclical sequence of revitalization, encroachment, dissonance, division, isolation, and again, revitalization.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORY

Orientation

This project represents one of the few occasions, if not the first, on which the Old Colony Mennonites have been the subject of a major anthropological study by an individual of non-Mennonite descent. The initial interest of the author in studying an Old Colony community emanated from a more fundamental desire to gain insight into the personal and social events surrounding what the sectarian perceives as the encroachment of the "outside world" upon the domain of the sect. How do the sect and the sectarian respond to the external, "worldly" forces of change in order to preserve the structural identity of the "sacred" community as well as the personal identity of the believer?

In searching for a sectarian community to study in order to gain answers to such questions, the Old Colony village of Bluemenort, located near Ft. Vermilion, Alberta, seemed to offer an ideal opportunity. Bluemenort possessed several positive characteristics in terms of potential field research. It was a small community, the total population including about three hundred persons. In geographic terms, Bluemenort was one of the most isolated Old Colony communities in Canada. Most residents of the larger LaCrete-Ft.

Vermilion Mennonite enclave acknowledged Bluemenort as the most conservative Old Colony group in the area. Bluemenort was deeply involved in the struggle between movement toward increased secularization and "worldliness" on one hand, and on the other, the preservation and persistence of a traditional Old Colony way of life. Also, many individual members of Bluemenort were personally involved in disputes with formal agents of the "outside world" such as provincial school authorities. An important issue which was unanticipated when the field study was initiated in Bluemenort was the eruption of a major social movement which led to a major migration.

When fieldwork began in the early spring of 1969, the center of Bluemenort was located about twelve miles southwest of Ft. Vermilion, Alberta. Throughout the fall and winter of the same year, approximately two hundred persons from the community migrated* to four new villages situated one hundred miles northwest of Santa Cruz, Bolivia. Of these migrants, about one hundred and fifty settled in the new village of Bluemenort.

Consequently, the second part of the field study was conducted during February and March of 1970 in the relocated village of Bluemenort in Bolivia. In late March and early April, a return migration brought about eighty-five members of this new village back to Canada.

* In this paper, "migration" refers to the movement of a group of persons from one place to settle in another location. "Immigration" denotes the movement of individuals or a group into a country for purposes of resettlement. "Emigration" is the movement of individuals or groups out of a given country for purposes of resettlement.

Objectives of the Study

Two major purposes lie at the core of this dissertation. The first objective is to present selected historical and ethnographic data pertinent to the Old Colony community of Bluemenort. Such data would demonstrate the Old Colony perception of the events and meaning of "worldly" encroachment upon Bluemenort. Furthermore, the data point out that, in terms of the social history of the Old Colony, migration is the usual response to perceived external encroachment. Indeed, the sequence of division and migration seems almost sufficiently regular to be expressed in terms of a "historical cycle". Ultimately, however, the purpose for presenting the historical and ethnographic data embodied in Chapters One through Nine is to illustrate the process of selective and controlled change which may be called persistence.

The second major objective of the study is to employ selected aspects of dissonance theory to explain and interpret the specific phenomenon of migration in relation to the more general process of persistence in Bluemenort. No attempt is made to defend Festinger (1957) or the views of any other exponents of dissonance theory. Dissonance is employed solely as a motivational link to explain and interpret migration and persistence.

To provide such explanation and interpretation, why are elements of dissonance theory employed in lieu of economic, demographic or structural-functional (to suggest only a few) approaches? The

primary answer to this question lies in the nature of sectarianism. The sectarian emphasis on ideological issues and value consensus lessens the likelihood of perceiving and solving practical problems such as subsistence (Hammond 1965). In other words, nearly all problems (technological, economic, political, social, demographic, and so on) are perceived by the sectarian in ideological terms. In Bluemenort, driving cars or speaking English are not simple manifestations of change, but are demonstrations of a personified force of evil in the community. Poor crops or the death of a child are God's wrathful judgment upon a community into which "worldliness" is creeping. Thus, while economic, demographic or other such approaches may explain certain kinds of pressures which are not directly perceived by members of the sect, dissonance is more generally helpful in explaining the sectarian's directly perceived reasons for choosing between alternate solutions to problems.

A thorough discussion of concepts used for interpreting the historical and ethnographic data is reserved for Chapters Ten through Twelve. Chapter Thirteen includes a discussion of methodology and theory employed in the thesis.

Field Method

My initial entry into Bluemenort was with Simon, a young man who, though he is a member of the church, is nonetheless marginal to the group. The degree of marginality of this young fellow, who became one of my most valuable informants, is somewhat expressed by his attendance at the University of Alberta in Edmonton.

Field methods consisted mainly of participant observation and informal interviews conducted initially in English and later in Low German. I found early in my research that any type of formal, systematic questioning or interviewing met inevitably with failure, largely because philosophical consistency is not a compulsion in Old Colony life as in our own society. While in Bolivia, most information was gathered by informal interviews due to the restrictions placed upon my participation in daily life (see Appendix).

Various documents were collected, most of which pertain to historical data. Tape recorders and, to a large extent, cameras were not permitted in the community. I was unable to utilize any technological aids to data collecting. Even the keeping of field notes was not done too openly as some individuals felt threatened by, and objected to, this type of intrusion. An informal, but relatively accurate census was taken of Old Colony households in both the northern and southern communities. Village kinship was mapped on the basis of these censuses. Also, to the extent of the available information, a geographic and kinship based chart of economic distribution of wealth was attempted. This was based mainly on land ownership and farm equipment in Canada, and livestock and equipment in Bolivia.

The Anabaptist Tradition

The origin of the Old Colony Church (Altkolonier Reinlaender Mennoniten Gemeinde) may be traced to Switzerland and the early Reformation. A group of Zwinglian reformers disagreed with Zwingli on the matters of (among other things) infant baptism and church admission (Smith 1957:5). Faced with persecution from the followers of Zwingli, the members of this new movement left Switzerland and moved to such places as Tyrol, Austria, Moravia, the Netherlands and northwestern and southern Germany. These migrations occurred in the early sixteenth century (Smith 1957:16). Members of this movement are known as Anabaptists.

In the Netherlands, several factions of Anabaptist believers arose, some of whom were peaceful and others who were of a more revolutionary nature. One of the peaceful factions became known as the Obbenites after their leader, Obbe Philips.

In 1536, Menno Simons (from whom the term "Mennonite" is derived) left the priesthood and renounced Roman Catholicism to join the Obbenites. He eventually succeeded Obbe Philips (who apostasized from the movement in 1541) as the leader of the group; he retained this position of leadership until his death in 1561.

From Holland to Prussia

Mennonites faced persecution in the Netherlands as well although they were given relief for a time by Countess Anna of East Friesland

who made this earldom an asylum for persecuted religious groups of northwestern Germany and Holland (Smith 1957:93). (For a more detailed description of the refuge of East Friesland, see Unruh 1936.) In 1544, however, Countess Anna issued an order of exile for the revolutionary sects of Mennonites. The peaceful followers of Menno, who were now for the first time called Menists, were not included in this proscription (Smith 1957:96). Persecution of Mennonites in general continued to increase throughout the Netherlands, however, and many were forced to migrate to neighboring countries.

Unruh (1936) states that the first Mennonites came to Prussia in the fifth decade of the sixteenth century, no later than 1547. Menno Simons left East Friesland and went to Cologne and then on to Danzig and Graudenz. Many of his followers came to the same areas, some to the Oldenburg and Holstein region and some to Danzig, Elbing, and Graudenz. Horst Penner (1959:922) states that the first Mennonite group settlement in the general area of Prussia (in Schonberg in the Oberland of East Prussia) was made in 1539 when four thousand two hundred and fifty acres were made available. However, refugee settlers had arrived in this area as early as 1527 (Penner 1949:234). This group settlement was later destroyed and the settlers found new homes in West Prussia and in the free cities of Elbing and Danzig.

From 1547 to 1550, a great drainage program was started to drain the Vistula delta. Mennonite farmers were used for this task and more were invited to come from the Netherlands for the project. The Anabaptist movement thus became a permanent establishment in West Prussia. The center of the movement was in Danzig (Penner 1949:235).*

The first appearance of the problem of non-resistance was in 1613 when the Danzig Mennonites refused on conscientious grounds to enter the military service and received exemption on the basis of a money payment (Penner 1959:923).

In 1642, King Wladislaus IV of Prussia granted the Mennonites a charter which promised them a large measure of toleration and protection and a guarantee of their old privileges. This charter was renewed by later kings including Frederick the Great who began ruling in 1740. Frederick also worked out a compromise over military service similar in principle to the one established in 1613. Mennonites were "guaranteed complete religious liberty with equal rights to carry on any kind of business, on the condition, however, that they pay the annual sum of five thousand thaler for the support of the military academy at Culm" (Smith 1957:282).

* One interesting observation concerning the Mennonites of West Prussia is that they used the Dutch language until the eighteenth century. The Danzig church record was written in Dutch until 1783-84 when German was substituted. By this time, High German had also replaced Dutch for use in the school and the church and Low German was used in everyday life (Krahn 1959:38).

Following the death of Frederick, the generosity of the government ceased. Regulations were passed which limited Mennonite land holdings to parcels already held. No further property could be purchased by Mennonites. In addition, further taxes were levied for military exemption. The Mennonites thus began to look for another country where they could live in relative freedom.

From Prussia to Russia

In 1786, Catherine II of Russia extended an invitation to Mennonites and other European peoples to come to southern Russia to develop her newly conquered territory north of the Black Sea. She extended full religious and civil liberties with the invitation.

According to Smith (1957:387), by the fall of 1788, two hundred and twenty-eight families mostly from the poorer working classes of Danzig had arrived at Dubrovna where they were forced to spend the winter. In the spring they continued down the Dniper River toward Bereslav where two years earlier a party of deputies had chosen fertile land. However, on the way, they were informed that they would have to settle further up the river near a small tributary called Chortitza (Smith 1957:389).*

* Wenger (1947:96) states that these Prussian Mennonite settlers, about nine hundred in number, reached their destination in July 1789. Horsch states (1950:271) that about two hundred and thirty families left Prussia for Russia. Redekop claims that a total of four hundred and sixty-two families left in 1789 for the southern Ukraine. Walter Kuhn (1948:35) asserts that by 1796, three hundred and forty-six families had arrived in Russia. Cornelius Bergmann (1959:570) says that in 1797 about one hundred and eighteen families followed the first group of two hundred and twenty-eight families. In the meantime, several families had joined the first group and thus about four hundred families became the nucleus of the settlement.

A second colony was founded on the Molotschna River in 1803. Between 1788 and 1810 an estimated fifteen to eighteen thousand Mennonites came to the Old and New Colony (Francis 1955:19).

In 1796, Catherine died and was succeeded by her son, Paul. The Chortitza settlers sent a delegation to receive a written guarantee that their former liberties would continue. These liberties were guaranteed and several new ones were added including

. . . 175 acres of free land to each family, religious toleration, exemption from military and certain civil services, and from the use of the oath in all judicial processes, wide liberty in establishing their own schools in their own language and such political and economic institutions as might be most suitable to their own needs, the right of forbidding the erection of taverns in their midst, and the right to manufacture their own beverages (Smith 1957:396).

In Russia, the Mennonite group became clearly differentiated both from the larger society and from other German-speaking colonists. Francis (1955) sees two factors responsible for such a development.

On the one hand, the immigrants were motivated not just by a desire to escape a felt threat to their religion and economic well-being, but still more by the hope of finally realizing the utopian community suggested by this same religion in complete separation from the wicked world. On the other hand, the framework of Russia's Colonial law fostered the isolation of immigrant groups and protected them in their homogeneity and self-sufficiency (Francis 1955:20).

The Russian Colonial Law regulated the life of the Mennonite immigrants but allowed them to operate as a separate society within the greater Russian society. The units of social, economic and

political organization were the farm family, the village, and the colony. The colony was the unit of administration and taxation and the seat of the lower courts. An Obserschulze and other village representatives represented the colony to the central Russian administration. Each landholding family was represented on the village assembly. This assembly, led by the elected Dorfschulze, exercised considerable control over the economic, social and cultural life of the village members. From a religious perspective, the Mennonites were organized into voluntary associations of believers in a given locality.

Authority was held by the Bruderschaft (church assembly of men) presided over by an elder. The Bruderschaft had the power to censure deviants, to impose penalties on them and ultimately to expel them from participation in the group. A Mennonite was expected "to avoid participation in the affairs of the world, to refuse public offices, and to refrain from any use of force or violence. Intermarriage and intimate social intercourse with non-Mennonites, as well as with excommunicated Mennonites, were forbidden. The unbaptized children of members were to be educated in the faith and treated as novices of a kind" (Francis 1955:24).

In Russia, the Mennonites were simultaneously members of the brotherhood (the religious congregation) and members of the little community (the secular Mennonite system) which was relatively

isolated from the greater society. The division of power and spheres of influences of each of the secular and sacred institutions was indeed subtle. Francis describes some of the inner contradictions of the situation and the consequences of these contradictions:

Above all, the traditional opposition against participation in worldly affairs became an anachronism; for the "world", at least the immediate little world of the colony, was now a Mennonite world. Nor was there an established church to be protested against in the name of the rigorous spirituality of the brotherhood. Religious freedom did not mean that every individual was free to worship in his own way; it meant the corporate freedom of Mennonites to practise their particular religion according to their own traditions and understanding. Moreover, membership in the secular Mennonite system was defined by membership in the religious congregation. A rapprochement and mutual inter-penetration of both systems was thus inevitable, changing the sectarian character of the latter and forcing it into the position of an established territorial or parish church (Francis 1955:25).

While Mennonites as a group in Russia maintained themselves as a separate little community in the larger Russian society, differences emerged between the Chortitza settlement and other groups of Mennonites who came to Russia. Krahn (1959) states that the Chortitza Mennonites were poorer, less educated and more conservative than those who came to Russia later. He believes that the first Mennonites to leave Prussia for Russia had made the least adjustment to the German culture and those who came later were more progressive and prosperous.

The Chortitza group grew from the original number of about fifteen hundred in 1789 to about four thousand in 1825 and near twelve thousand in 1859 (Krahn 1948:36). By 1870, however, population pressure was a serious problem in both the Chortitza and Molotschna settlements. Smith (1957:409) estimates that at least two-thirds of all heads of families in both colonies were without land. This situation came about because each standard share of one hundred and seventy-five acres was indivisible and thus the number of landholders had to remain constant. Attempts to solve the land problem by acquiring more land were made. However, land adjacent to the colonies was becoming increasingly scarce.

At the same time, nationalistic movements were being formed in Russia. The significance of these actions was felt by Mennonites and other foreign colonists as the principles of reform began to be administered. One such move which affected the Mennonites was the liberation of the Russian peasants in 1861. By the end of the decade, the State dissolved the separate administration under the Department of Crown Lands and made the Mennonite colonies a part of the standard administrative divisions. The landless were given the right to elect representatives who voted with the land owners on all matters affecting the landless. The Mennonites were required to pay the regular provincial and state taxes and to contribute to the upkeep of local institutions such as hospitals and schools. All official records, correspondence or other documents had to be written

in Russian. Mennonites were required to teach Russian in their schools at all levels. School supervision shifted from the Department of Crown Lands to that of the Department of Education. The most drastic action felt by the Mennonites was the withdrawal of the privilege of exemption from military service for all former foreign colonists. The colonists were given ten years in which to fall in line with the new regulations.

Immediately upon hearing of the abolishment of military exemption, Mennonites from the Chortitza, Molotschna and Bergthal colonies sent a delegation to the Czar with a petition which stated their principles of peace and requested that the concessions made to them earlier might not be withdrawn. This delegation was unsuccessful, but succeeding presentations managed to gain a partial concession: The Mennonites would be assigned to non-aggressive service roles such as hospitals, sanitary departments or workshops.

Nevertheless, agitation for emigration began almost as soon as the Government announced the new laws and did not subside as a result of the petitions. When the Russians realized that they might lose forty thousand of their most industrious farmers, they took steps to slow the emigration. Besides making the sale of land and the obtaining of passports very difficult, the Russians also promised that Mennonites could substitute any form of military service with a non-military form of forestry service. The concession satisfied most Mennonites, but a minority, consisting mainly of the more conservative groups, still chose to emigrate (Smith 1957:452).

Of the many motives which the Mennonites had for emigration, possibly one of the most powerful was the lure of the New World where they could find relief from oppressors and realize their Utopia (Francis 1955:36).

The Mennonites then entered into negotiations with the governments of the United States and Canada to explore the possibility of immigration. Discussions with the United States Federal Government were unsuccessful since U. S. policy prohibited the Federal Government from entering into contracts with groups of potential immigrants. However, the Canadian Government was anxious to attract settlers to the western plains.

Of the four delegates representing the Russian Mennonites in negotiations with the Government of Canada, two were from the Bergthal colony (a daughter colony of the Chortitza settlement) and two were from the Klein Gemeinde, a breakaway group from the Molotschna colony. These four men represented the most conservative element of the migrating Mennonites. Canada seems to have been chosen for immigration because the delegates were more assured of receiving military exemption in Canada than in the United States. Furthermore, the decision was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that land in Manitoba was offered either at no cost or at one-third of the American price of three dollars per acre (Francis 1955:43).

The agreement which was signed between the Mennonites and the Government of Canada contains the following significant items:

- (1) An exemption from military service is by law and Order-in-Council granted to the Denomination of Christians called Mennonites;
- (2) The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded to the Mennonites without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever, and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools (Francis 1955:44).

Throughout the negotiations, the Canadian Government did not reveal that the provisions of the British North America Act made jurisdiction over education a provincial matter. Manitoba was not a party to the agreement with the Mennonites. Canadian officials also gave the impression of the indefinite stability of the agreement despite the knowledge that according to the principles of parliamentary sovereignty, the legislature is at any time able to rescind or amend a previous law or to change administrative practice by passing a new law (Francis 1955:47).

Some legal inaccuracies were discovered in the agreement which was signed and the wording of the two sections quoted above was changed. Section (1) now asserted "that an entire exemption from military service as is provided by law and Order-in-Council will be granted. . ." (Francis 1955:48). The second section now read "that the Mennonites have the fullest privilege of exercising their religious privileges and educating their children in schools, as provided by law, without any molestation or restriction whatever" (Francis 1955:48).

The revised document was made the legal basis of the Order-in-Council of August 13, 1873. This document was labelled "secret" and was unknown to the public for some forty-five years. The Mennonites thus believed that the original wording was the basis of the agreement. Francis (1955:49) states that "this devious procedure was the direct cause of the serious conflicts which later on arose in connection with the Manitoba school question" (Francis 1955:49).

From Russia to Canada

The Chortitza community with her two daughter colonies, Bergthal and Furstenland, were given two reserves, one on either side of the Red River south of Winnipeg. The land consisted of twenty-five townships or over half a million acres (Redekop 1969:5). The first migration took place from Russia to the East Reserve in 1874 and in 1875 migration began to the West Reserve.

Concerning the founding of the colonies, Francis states that "they simply followed a pattern which they considered to be the reflection of their own sacred traditions, although in reality it was largely a result of the master plan provided by the Russian Colonial Law. This pattern included (1) village habitat, (2) openfield system, (3) separation between church and civil government, (4) autonomy both on a village and regional level, corresponding to the village commune and volost in Russia, and (5) a series of subsidiary institutions such as school, Waisenant and fire insurance" (Francis 1955:63).

The Chortitza group settled in the West Reserve where they first began to be referred to as the "Old Colony". This term distinguished them from the other Mennonites who settled in the East Reserve and in scattered areas of the West Reserve. The name was chosen because this group of "Old Colony" was the first to settle in Russia (Krahn 1959:38).

As mentioned above, in the early days of settlement in Russia, the Old Colony were poorer, less educated and more conservative than the Mennonites who came to Russia in later migrations. Krahn believes that the religious and cultural conservatism of the Old Colony ". . . furnished the roots for the spirit and characteristics of the Old Colony Mennonites of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Mexico" (Krahn 1959:38).

Redekop discusses several factors which led to the establishment of the Old Colony as a distinctive group in Manitoba. One such factor involved the singing of hymns. Contention over hymn-singing had begun in Russia. The older and more conservative people sang the verses according to the noteless and meterless book while the more progressive element wanted to sing according to the modern score. Eventually a split developed which saw the progressives leave the Old Colony and join the Bergthal group.

However, there is more than one explanation of events in Manitoba. Some believe that the Bishop of the East Reserve, Elder

Gerhard Wiebe, tried to introduce the new musical score. He persuaded Johann Wiebe, his nephew and Bishop of the West Reserve, to get his people to change, but then was unable to persuade his own people of the East Reserve to do so. An argument followed about what had been done in Russia.

Another explanation is that Elder Gerhard Wiebe had convinced his nephew to return to the old style of singing and later changed his position and adopted the new style himself. Whatever the explanation of the schism, the Old Colony came to be associated with the conservative view.

A further factor which led to the emergence of the Old Colony as a distinctive Mennonite group was the pattern and method of settlement adopted in Manitoba. In Russia, the village organization was the basis of the total social organization. Each male had a voice in village affairs, each village had a spokesman (Schulze), and each settlement had an Oberschulze who represented the Mennonite settlement to the Russian Government. Above these secular officials were the spiritual leaders, the Lehrdienst, comprised of the Bishop and the preachers. This council had the power to excommunicate a nonconforming member of the community.

In Manitoba the Bergthal group adopted the reeve system of government used by the rest of the province. The Old Colony saw clearly that such a system, by replacing their village structure, would undermine their entire social organization. They chose to maintain their village system.

Another distinguishing feature of the Old Colony emanated from their stance on education. Members of the East Reserve were anxious to upgrade their educational standards and thus accepted provincial help in their schools. The Old Colony were reluctant to do so and chose to direct their own educational system.

In other areas also, the Mennonites of the East Reserve took part in the affairs of the outside world. The Old Colony, on the other hand, were extremely reluctant to do so. The Old Colony adopted the official title of Reinlaender Mennoniten Gemeinde (most of the conservative villages were in the municipality of Reinland, Manitoba). Gradually the group adopted the name Altkolonier Reinlaender Mennoniten Gemeinde. Redekop states, "the name Old Colony came to be used by outsiders to refer to those people who were loyal to a rigid belief system and a traditional way of life, and was adopted consequently by the members themselves (Redekop 1969:10). He proceeds to suggest that a possible date for the official founding of the Old Colony Church is October 5, 1880, when a meeting was called to discuss Church conditions. Those who wished to adhere to the practices and beliefs renewed their commitments, while those who did not wish to do so were encouraged to join the Bergthal group.

The School Question

According to the agreement of 1873 between the Government of Canada and the Mennonites, the Mennonites established their own school system. Over a period of time, the quality of education in this system began to deteriorate. This, at least, was the opinion of the more progressive Bergthal group which began to seek the help of the provincial school authorities. The Old Colony, however, resisted all attempts at outside interference because they feared that such outside influences would draw their children away from the old patterns of life.

Significant developments in the school question occurred in 1916 when the School Attendance Act stipulated English as the sole language of instruction in schools and the compulsory attendance of children between the ages of seven and fourteen at public schools unless private education was provided in a manner acceptable to the school authorities. The school authorities could thus condemn private schools simply by finding fault with them. The Old Colony continued to operate their private schools and sent delegations and petitions to provincial and federal officials requesting a reinstatement of their privileges of 1873. These attempts, however, proved unsuccessful.

In 1918, the Old Colony began receiving fines and in some cases jail sentences for refusing to send their children to public schools.

The Problem of Military Exemption

A further development which affected the Mennonites was the growing feeling of nationalism among Canadians. This force of nationalism was in part responsible for the passing of the Manitoba bill of unilingual instruction in schools. With the outbreak of World War I, Mennonites sought clarification of their status concerning military exemption and received assurance of continuing exemption. However, Mennonites were required to contribute financially to the war effort. In 1917, the Mennonites were disenfranchised and in 1919 an Order-in-Council established that privileges granted to early Mennonite immigrants did not apply to those who entered the country at a later date. A further Order-in-Council prohibited the landing in Canada of ". . . any immigrant of the Doukhobor, Hutterite and Mennonite class" (Francis 1955:190).

These developments were seen as danger signals by the Old Colony and arrangements for immigration were made with the government of Mexico.

Further Migrations

Between 1895 and 1905 about one thousand Old Colony members moved from Manitoba to the Osler-Hague area of Saskatchewan. In 1905, nearly nine hundred Old Colony moved to the region around Swift Current, Saskatchewan. The main motivation for migration in these cases was the desire for more land (Redekop 1969:14).

By March, 1922, over five thousand Old Colony had migrated to Mexico. These included about three thousand two hundred or nearly seventy-five per cent of the Old Colony in Manitoba, eight hundred or about eighteen per cent of the Osler-Hague colony, and fifteen hundred or about fifty-five per cent of the Swift Current Old Colony community (Francis 1955:192).

In 1934, several Old Colony families moved to Ft. Vermilion, Alberta from Hague, Saskatchewan. By 1948, this settlement had a population of three hundred and seventy-seven. About one third of this population was comprised of returnees from Mexico.

In 1958, a large group of the Mexican Old Colony migrated to British Honduras. These immigrants encountered many hardships and within about eight years, over half of the original eighty-seven families who migrated returned to Mexico or moved on to Canada.

In 1960, a group of the Old Colony from Alberta (Worsley and Ft. Vermilion) migrated to British Honduras. This community utterly failed and at present only seventy-five of the original migrants remain.

In 1967, about two hundred and fifty persons from the Old Colony settlement at Worsley, Alberta migrated to Bolivia. In 1969, about three hundred from the LaCrete-Ft. Vermilion area followed. Included in this group were about two hundred from the village of Bluemenort. One of the major rationales for the last-mentioned move was again the imposition of government schooling upon the Old Colony.

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIAL INTERACTION AND ECONOMICS

Location

The settlement referred to by the Old Colony as Bluemenort is a small segment of a larger, diversified Mennonite community. This greater community includes an area of about twelve hundred square miles, the southwest corner of which extends to Buffalo Head Prairie, while the northeast corner reaches the town of Ft. Vermilion, Alberta. The total region of Mennonite settlement is sharply bounded on the north and west by the Peace River. To the south and east lie vast areas of relatively unsettled land (see map on page 29).

LaCrete, situated approximately in the center of this larger Mennonite community, is the only village formally recognized by the provincial government in the overall area of Mennonite settlement. Designations such as Bluemenort and Rhineland are village names applied only by the Old Colony to local parishes. In other words, those in the congregation of the Bluemenort church would be viewed as coming from the village of Bluemenort.

In this context, the term "village" is somewhat of a euphemism because in northern Alberta the Old Colony were not allowed to settle in their traditional village pattern. Consequently, the "village" of Bluemenort includes those Old Colony farms in the area from about

six miles southwest of Ft. Vermilion to approximately eight miles northeast of LaCrete.* All the Old Colony settled in this area are part of the congregation of Bluemenort church and hence form the "village" of Bluemenort.

Immediate access to the community is possible by air and road. On the southwestern extremity of the greater community, the Tompkins Landing ferry transports vehicles across the Peace River. A similar ferry services the northeastern corner of the community at Ft. Vermilion. During the winter, access is possible via ice bridges at both of these points. For the periods of seasonal transition in the spring and fall when neither the ice bridges nor the ferries can be utilized, the community can be reached only by air. Spring breakup usually occurs during the last two weeks of April. Freeze-up is usually complete by late November.

Only one route, the MacKenzie Highway, offers an exit to larger urban centers south of the LaCrete-Ft. Vermilion area. Though this highway is classified as an "all weather road", passage is difficult and often impossible during spring thaw and periods of extensive precipitation. In general, then, while access to the community is certainly possible by road, the settlement is still relatively isolated.

* The map on p. 30 suggests the informal boundaries of Bluemenort. Most members of the Bluemenort congregation live within these "village" bounds, though some members live in the surrounding areas.

Within the approximately twelve hundred square miles settled by various Mennonite groups, the network of roads is adequate to allow ready access to the majority of individual farms. The public roads are gravelled and are regularly maintained by the Department of Highways of the Government of Alberta. Similarly the ferries at Tompkins Landing and Ft. Vermilion are owned and operated by the Department of Highways.

Topography, Vegetation and Climate

Entering the overall Mennonite district from Tompkins Landing, the banks of the Peace River rise very steeply from the water level to the plateau about three hundred feet above. Between Tompkins Landing and Buffalo Head Prairie, much of the land is permanently under water as swamps and sloughs abound in this region. Much of this area is muskeg and vegetation includes spruce, willow and poplar trees.

From Buffalo Head Prairie through LaCrete to Ft. Vermilion, the land is a little higher and the area is relatively devoid of swamps and muskeg. The land is fairly flat with a few gently rolling hills. Areas which have not been cleared for cultivation are covered with aspen, poplar and willow trees. The soil is free of rocks and is of adequate quality to sustain growth of most grain crops.

The climate tends toward extremes with bitterly cold winters and hot, dry summers. The winter temperature may dip to $-60^{\circ}\text{F}.$, while summer temperatures may easily reach 90°F . The weather charts for the area indicate that rainfall usually varies from fifteen to twenty inches per year. While rainfall is adequate to support normal growth, many of the residents of the area remark that the rain which would be welcome in July never seems to arrive until harvest time.

The growing season is also extremely short. Frost may strike at any time of the year, though there are normally about eighty-five to ninety frost-free days per year. In 1969, frost killed several crops in the second week of June and returned for the winter in the second week of September.

Settlement Patterns

One first encounters the informal boundaries of Bluemenort from the northeast end of the village. The settlement consists of dispersed farmsteads beginning approximately six miles south and west of the town of Ft. Vermilion. From north to south, Bluemenort extends about eight miles, and at the widest point, is ten miles from east to west.

Of the roughly forty-five sections (each section contains 640 acres) of land included within the area designated as Bluemenort,

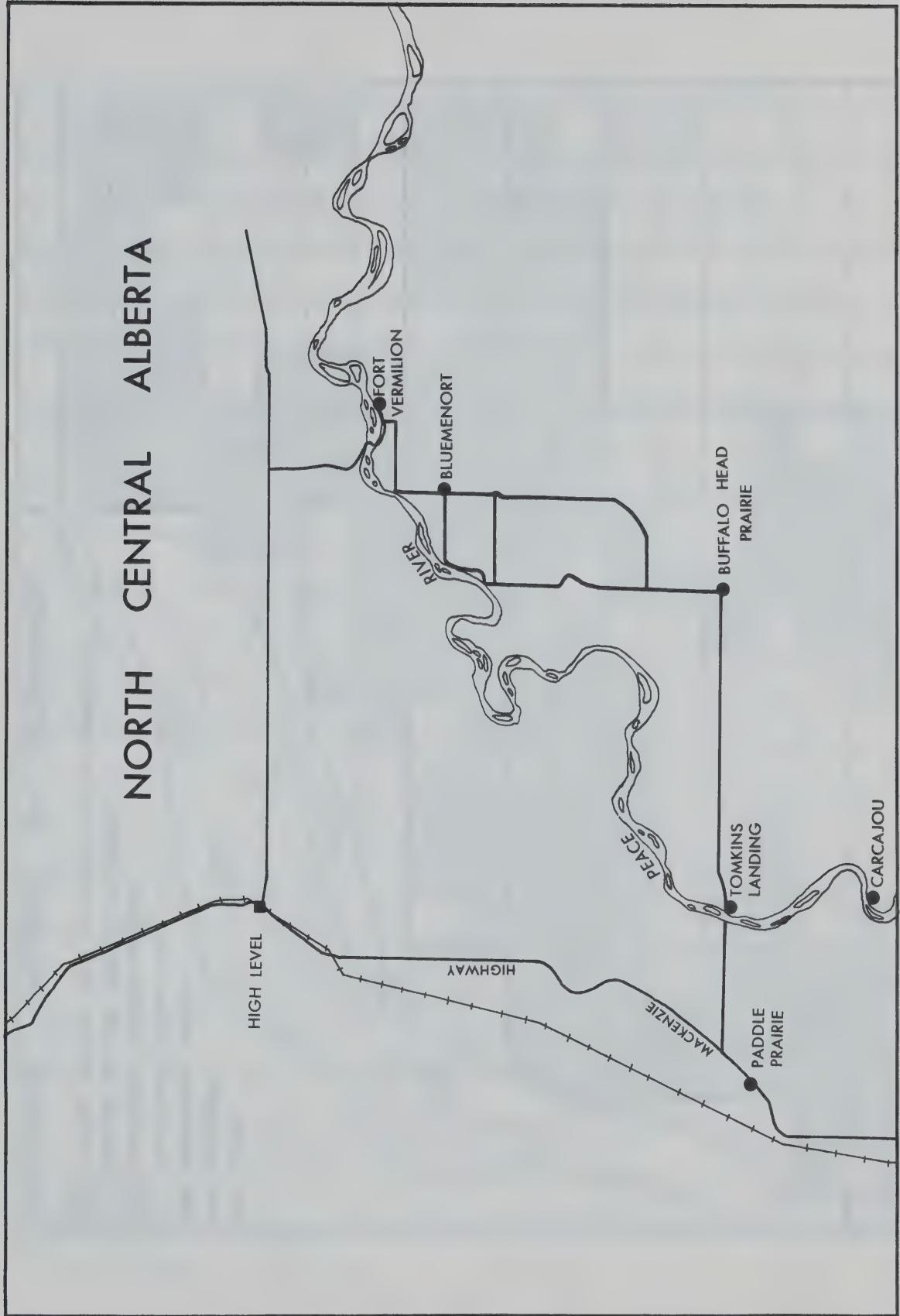
about ten sections are uninhabited and are registered as Crown land.* Approximately ten sections of land scattered throughout Bluemenort are owned by non-Old Colony Mennonites. The remaining twenty-five sections are settled by Old Colony belonging to the congregation of Bluemenort (see map on p. 30). A few members of this community own land outside the confines of the "village".

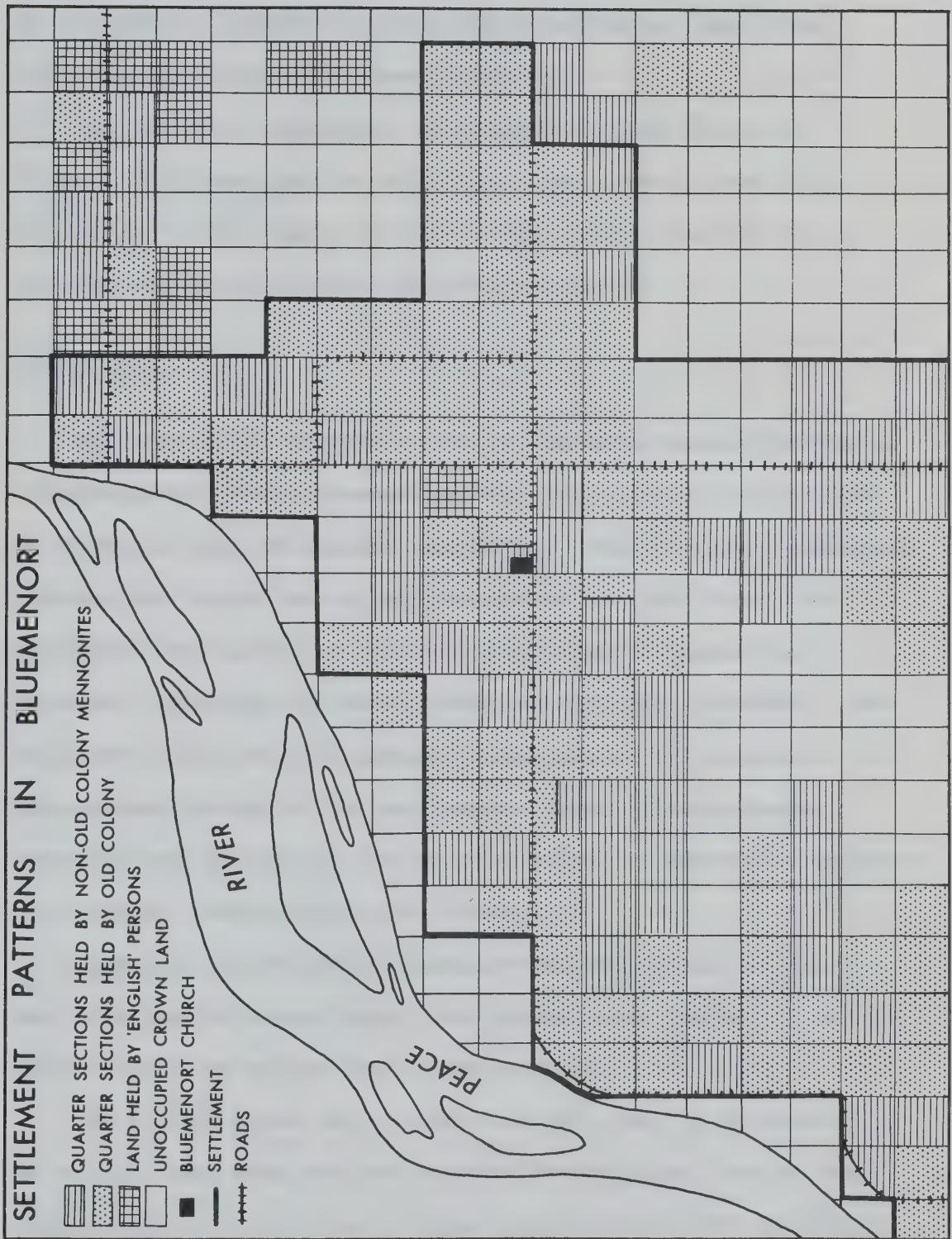
At the geographical center of the community stands the unpainted board church of Bluemenort. Strangely, the church does not rest on land owned by an Old Colony person. As a result of one of the many defections from the Old Colony ranks in recent years, the land upon which the Bluemenort church stands has passed out of Old Colony hands (see map of Bluemenort on page 30).

Approximately seventy-five per cent of the land owned by the people of Bluemenort is under cultivation. The most common cash crops include wheat, barley, oats and rapeseed. Commercial mixed farming is totally absent in the community though vegetables are grown for family use. Innovations such as flax and alfalfa seed are less common due to the short growing season. Nevertheless, some members of the community are venturing into these new areas because of the economic potential if the crop is successful. Some livestock is raised, but commercial dairying is impossible because

* These nine sections of uninhabited Crown land in the core of Bluemenort as well as nearly unlimited acreage of similar land to the east of the "village" are available for purchase under the Homestead Act. As a consequence, Bluemenort faces no population pressure and may expand almost limitlessly.

NORTH CENTRAL ALBERTA





of the distance to market and the Old Colony do not seem to be interested in livestock for meat production.

All but a few inhabitants of Bluemenort, then, are grain farmers. The remaining few work in the two general stores which are located in the community or work away from Bluemenort during the week and return to work the land on weekends.

Population

The overall Ft. Vermilion-LaGrete Mennonite community consists of approximately three thousand persons, approximately twenty-five to thirty per cent of whom are Old Colony. The village of Bluemenort includes two hundred and eighty persons who are Old Colony. An additional two hundred inhabitants of the area designated as Bluemenort represent the Sommerfelder and Bergthaler churches. No "English" live within the informal boundaries of the community. On the northeast fringe of the settlement a group of approximately forty Holdeman Mennonites live on farms which are dispersed throughout the "English" community near Ft. Vermilion.

Among the Old Colony of Bluemenort the composition of the population would include about five persons under the age of twenty-one for every two persons who exceed this age.

The average number of children born per woman in Bluemenort is seven. Older women who are past child-bearing age tend to have larger families (a relatively accurate estimate would be an average of nine children per family).

The average family has five children living at home. The remainder are either married or are living outside the community. The ratio of male to female births is about eleven to ten.

Kinship and Residence

Study of the "Village Kinship Map" (see page 34) allows insight into the relationship between kinship, residence patterns and land tenure in Bluemenort. The dominant family name groupings include families A, B and H. These three major family name groupings have a direct interest in approximately thirteen of the twenty-five sections belonging to the Old Colony in Bluemenort.

At least two important observations arise from this phenomenon. In addition to the obvious benefit of a large family in relation to farm labor supply, family size is also significant in terms of social, political and economic dominance in the village. This point, of course, presupposes the relative cohesiveness of family lines, at least in the sense of day to day co-operation between members of such groups. On the other hand, even in the context of a major family name grouping (such as family group A), each nuclear family must be viewed as autonomous primarily because factionalism and conflict tend to segment* major family lines into opposing units.

* If one dissociates the concept from the formal context of kinship analysis, the image of complementary opposition in a segmentary lineage may be a convenient conceptualization of the process of segmentation which takes place in family name groups when factionalism occurs.

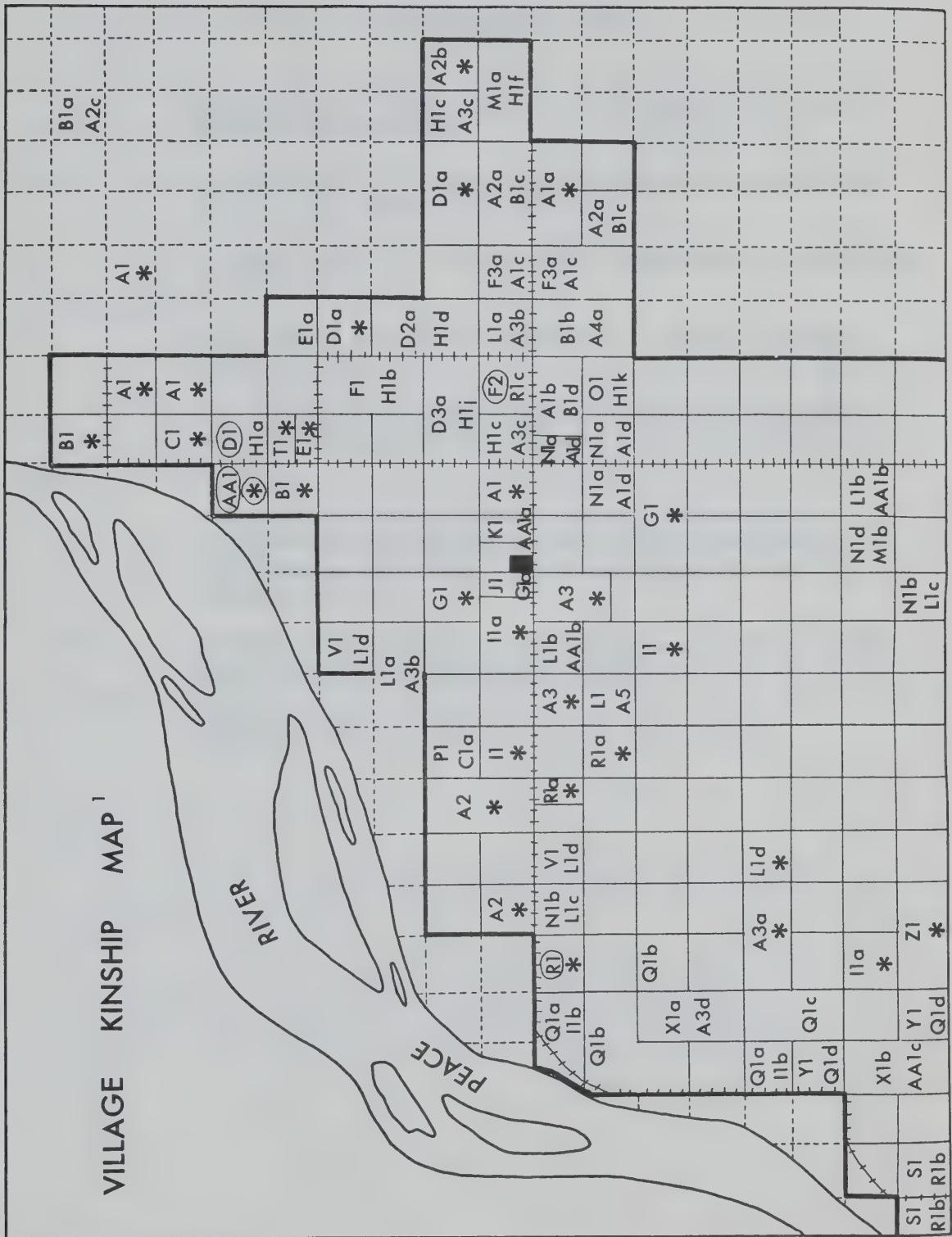
While these statements concerning cohesion and factionalism in family name groupings at first appear contradictory, data presented in later chapters suggest that cohesiveness in certain spheres of social interaction does not preclude factionalism at all levels in the family name group or in all interactional spheres.

Notice the frequency of intermarriage between major family groupings. Such marriage patterns are relatively common due to the limited number of families which may provide legitimate marriage partners (see Chapter Three for further discussion of eligible marriage partners).

Residence is ideally neolocal, though brief perusal of the map demonstrates that related families have a tendency to group together in territorial proximity. Occasionally a married couple will live for a time on the farmstead of either the bride or the groom, but the preferred pattern encourages neolocal residence and the establishment of nuclear families.*

* The "Village Kinship Map" does not indicate residence patterns in cases of patrilocal or matrilocal residence. The only exceptions to the principle of neolocal residence are A3-*, D1 -Hla, and Alb-Bld. A3-* have a married son and daughter-in-law living on the same land, but in a different house. Conversely, D1 -Hla have a daughter and son-in-law living on the same land, but in a different house. Alb-Bld have a brother of Bld and his family living in a separate house, but on the same land.

VILLAGE KINSHIP MAP¹



1 VILLAGE KINSHIP MAP

- each capital letter (e.g. A, B, C) represents a major family name grouping
- the asterisk (*) represents females whose family name appears only once in the village
- a symbol which is circled (F2) indicates the individual is deceased
- each square on the map represents a quarter section (160 acres)
- the numerals following capital letters differentiate between siblings in the oldest living generation (e.g. A1, A2)
- the small letters following numeral differentiate between siblings in the second eldest generation. For example, Ala, Alb, Alc are siblings who are all children of A1.
- in each square, the top symbol represents males while the lower symbol represents females
- (A1) is a first cousin to A1, A2, A3, A4, A5.

As suggested below in a more extensive discussion of economics, in Bluemenort in Canada, land ownership may be used as a relatively accurate index of individual wealth.* The "Village Kinship Map" reflects land ownership in relation to individuals as well as major family name groupings.**

Daily Life Style

Members of the household usually arise between 5:30 A. M. and 6:00 A. M. during the spring, summer and fall when work must be done in the fields. During the winter, the day may begin as late as 7:00 A. M. or 7:30 A. M. Most families retire between 10:00 P. M. and midnight.

The daily routine usually begins with breakfast, though in some households, chores such as milking and feeding of livestock are done before breakfast. Breakfast (freischdich) is the first of four daily meals and is eaten about one half hour after rising.

* The exceptions to this generalization are Nla and Ll, each of whom are merchants and have amassed independent wealth which is not reflected in land tenure.

** A comparison of the "Village Kinship Map" for Bluemenort in Canada with a similar map for the new village in Bolivia (see page 136) will indicate those members of the congregation who did not own land in Canada, but who did receive land in Bolivia.

Breakfast may consist of crackles (a small amount of lean pork boiled or fried in suet), rolled oats or hard fried eggs accompanied with home-made bread, buns, jam and pastries such as pies, cake or cookies. Instant coffee or milk is drunk with each meal.

The noon meal (maddoch) is usually the largest meal of the day. The staples are salt pork, potatoes and bread, buns, pastries and freshly churned butter. Mousse (fruit preserves mixed with fresh cream) is often eaten with any meal except breakfast. Borsch (cabbage soup), liverwurst, home-made pork sausages and fried pastry filled with cottage cheese are also typical Old Colony specialties. Some vegetables and fruit preserves are also fairly common.

Another lighter meal (fasba) is eaten at about 4:00 P. M. This repast is usually a coffee break from work in the fields. The menu typical of this meal is coffee or milk, bread, buns, butter, pastries and jam or fruit preserves.

The final meal of the day is dinner (oncas) eaten late in the evening. In addition to the usual coffee, baked goods and potatoes, many of the leftovers from previous meals are consumed. In general, then, the Old Colony diet is heavily oriented toward carbohydrates (potatoes, bread, sweet pastries) and usually includes salt pork as the only meat. Protein and mineral deficiency is common and the excess of carbohydrates is perhaps reflected in the high incidence of gall stones and related stomach problems.

As a general rule, all members of the household eat together. However, if the family is excessively large or if company should stay for a meal, the men are served at the first sitting, the women at the second and the children are the last to eat. A prayer of thanks is offered silently by each person at the table both before and after every meal.

In the winter, the work pace is very slow. There are no fields to cultivate and the only work which must be done is the daily chores. During the other seasons, however, the man of the house may begin work about 6:00 A. M. and carry on through to 10:00 P. M. The only exception to this is Saturday when work generally ceases at about 6:00 P. M. and Sunday when no work is done save daily chores.

For women, the daily routine includes preparation of meals, caring for young children, running the household, baking, tending the household garden, sewing and often helping with milking or feeding livestock. Men rarely do menial tasks around the house, but are occupied with maintenance of buildings and equipment, working in the fields, and care of livestock. As some women said, "when a woman finishes with household tasks, she is expected to help the men with farm labor, often in the fields. But you never see a man helping a woman with the children or in doing the household chores." The men, however, feel that "God made woman to do man's bidding and for the pleasure of man, not the other way around."

Leisure time is spent mostly in visiting friends and relatives. On Saturday evening, the men congregate in the two general stores in the village (depending on the factions with which they are compatible) and exchange stories and gossip. Sunday morning, church starts at roughly 9:15 A. M. and lasts until about noon. The remainder of the day is spent in visiting and is often the only time when women are able to leave the confines of their own home. During the winter, of course, visiting is much more frequent. The only special occasions during the summer are engagement parties, weddings, auction sales and funerals.

In the everyday family and social affairs of Bluemenort, the basic social groupings which emerge are based upon sex and age. On any social occasion or even within the framework of a given family group, women and men gravitate toward distinctly separate groups. Very few daily affairs bring men and women together in a common social grouping.

Similarly, social grouping is based on age. Young persons form their own social groupings which are rarely imposed upon by older persons. At the same time, the older persons gravitate toward peer groups which are infrequently inclusive of younger persons. The age separation is reinforced by the form of address used by persons of greatly differing ages. The common form of address between peers is informal (du--second person singular). However, regardless of sex, if a person is approximately ten or more years older than the speaker, the form of address becomes formal (yie--

second person plural). The older person, however, uses the familiar form of the verb in addressing a young person. A minister is always addressed as "uncle" (oum).

The usual form of greeting between two persons of the same village is a simple "Good Day". However, if two persons from different villages meet, they employ this verbal greeting as well as a handshake. Two ministers who are not from the same community and who meet very infrequently may greet each other with "a holy kiss".

The women of the community are expected to observe stringent standards with regard to dress. Women must at all times be dressed modestly. In practice, this entails wearing an ankle length dress with a high neckline and no collar. Sleeves must be full length. The dress, regardless of weather conditions, is ideally made of black wool. Over the dress is worn a full length apron made of dark-colored material. Black oxford shoes are mandatory. A woman's head must be covered at all times. Some leniency is shown with regard to young girls who often are not required to wear a headscarf. Indeed, unmarried women may not wear headscarves in church since this is a sign that one is not a virgin and hence the headscarf is reserved for older women.

Men have much greater freedom with regard to clothing. The only thing definitely proscribed is a tie. Other than this, men

may wear almost anything they choose provided that the colors are extremely conservative. Also, shirts should have long sleeves and trousers should be supported by braces as belts are frowned upon.

No personal adornments may be worn by either men or women. The approved hair style for women is braids wrapped around the head. Men are expected to be clean shaven and to cut their hair fairly short. Beards are not condoned as they are distinctive of the Holdeman Mennonites.

Economics

Probably no other aspect of the socio-cultural system of Bluemenort is as indicative of the relationship of dependency between the "little community" and the "greater society" as is the economic relationship. The efficacy of the economic dependency of Bluemenort on the "greater society" may be viewed in poignant perspective when compared with the description in later chapters of the internal economics of Bluemenort as a truly isolated village in Bolivia.

By the time that field research was initiated in Canada, Bluemenort retained few vestiges of the traditional Old Colony subsistence economy. Literally every member of the community either worked for wages or farmed for profit. One informant offers his view of the situation.

Once cars were accepted, other changes slowly evolved. One was the increase in the number and types of occupations available. Previously, practically everyone farmed. A few owned stores, but usually they did some farming alongside. Two or three had garages that repaired tractors, but these were little more than blacksmith shops. They didn't even have gas pumps. All gas came to the stores in barrels and was delivered to the customer in barrels or sold by the gallon.

The absence of cars and trucks actually restricted the variety of occupations available. Even the type of farming that was profitable was narrowed down to that of raising cattle and hogs where the shipping of products was least expensive. For such purposes, a truck (usually not owned by a Mennonite) was hired to haul livestock to the railway.

But when motor vehicles became accepted some farmers slaughtered their livestock at home, loaded the meat on their own trucks, and hauled it to the Northwest Territories where they sold the meat themselves. Others bought big trucks and began hauling hogs and cattle to Edmonton, bringing back consumer goods for the settlement stores. Soon the villages were serviced exclusively by Mennonites in these respects.

In time, as the Municipal Government increased its road building, some of the local men even bought gravel trucks and were thus employed. All these vehicles increased the demand for gas and oil. Bulk and service stations, usually locally managed, appeared in the settlement. Thus, men in the area now might hold any one of a variety of jobs. However, with travel made easy, jobs outside the settlement even became available.

For many years, some of the single men had been going out to sawmills to work for wages during the winter. Usually, though, they would stop once they were married since moving a family back and forth wasn't convenient. But now with the ownership of a vehicle, it became easier. Thus, many young couples started to work out during the farm season. Some even had a neighbor put in their crops so they could earn wages both winter and summer for perhaps a few years. During this period, the young farmer would have more of his land cleared which increased his cultivated acreage.

The family that had a vehicle and worked out didn't need a barn for horses or other livestock. If they earned enough money to clear more land, they could seed a sufficient amount of cash crops so they shouldn't have to raise cattle or hogs which were more profitable on a small acreage.

The important thing is that many young families were changing the once rigid way of making a living. This took them from the village for the major portion of their time and placed them in a non-Old Colony environment. Perhaps there wasn't very much socializing, but even just living among worldly people contributed to gradual, little changes.

The effects of the change from a basically subsistence to a totally cash economy were felt throughout Bluemenort. The specific effect on world view will be discussed at greater length below. Presently some of the more directly observable effects will be suggested.

The shift in economic emphasis contributed significantly to undermining the authority of the church. At the time of field research, the church was encountering severe difficulties in exerting any degree of social or political control over the members of the community. While this should not be taken to mean that economics may be viewed as the sole source of the problem, certainly the shift to a cash economy was a significant factor. Participation in the cash economy of the "greater society" meant that a given individual gained an increased measure of independence and thus could ignore many of the demands and sanctions emanating from the church.

In a traditional Old Colony village, the property of each individual is purchased from the church. Thus, the church has direct control over land tenure and ownership. In such a circumstance, no single individual may own more property than another. In some senses, the limit to the amount of land which any individual may own helps guarantee the relatively equal distribution of production and resultant wealth in the community.

However, in Bluemenort, the introduction of a cash economy coupled with the non-traditional village structure and consequent system of land tenure, removed all control of production and distribution of goods from even the indirect control of the church. Land could be amassed in any quantity which the individual member of the community might be able to afford. While a case could hardly be made for the development of social classes based on economic criteria, certainly various economic elites emerged holding the greatest proportion of wealth in the community. In contrast, a few persons did not participate significantly in the wealth of the community.

One of the most significant results of the change in the importance of economics in the socio-cultural system of Bluemenort is the effect which this change has had on leadership and the power structure in the community. This will be discussed in greater detail below. For the moment, let us concentrate on the analysis of production, division of labor, distribution and consumption in Bluemenort.

(a) Production. Production of goods in Bluemenort may be classified into two categories: (1) production of subsistence goods; (2) production of cash crops. Subsistence goods include vegetables which are grown for family consumption as well as the raising of a hog to provide winter meat, chickens for eggs and meat, or a cow for production of milk used by the family. On the other hand, cash crops tend to revolve around grains such as oats, wheat and barley as well as rapeseed and some marketing of livestock. The mechanized technology utilized to produce cash crops is of the most modern type. Tractors, combines, seeders, and other similar entities are items which are owned by the average farmer in Bluemenort.

In order to provide for the planting of crops, most farmers of Bluemenort produce their own seed. Those who for some reason may be short of seed in any given year purchase their seed from a neighbor. Rarely is seed purchased from the outlets in the "outside world". Because of relatively primitive cleaning methods, the seed grown in the community often contains many impurities, particularly wild oats.

Often members of Bluemenort who are too old to actively work the land or some younger men who are working in the "outside world" will rent out their land to a neighbor or relative. In such cases, the payment is almost always on a crop-sharing basis rather than a pre-established rental fee. Each person is entitled to a share of

the crop based on land ownership, ownership of seed, ownership of equipment and supply of labor. Usually, then, the person owning the land receives only one quarter of the crop as his share.

(b) Division of Labor. As mentioned above, women are largely responsible for production of subsistence goods while men assume the role of raising the cash crops. The types of tasks performed are not usually differentiated on the basis of age, though the degree of participation may vary according to age. For example, young boys or old men are obviously unable to match the labor capacity of an adult in his prime.

In addition to farming, several men in the village are part-time specialists in some consumer service. These occupations include mechanics, welders, building movers, store keepers, and owners and operators of caterpillar tractors. Unlike cash crop farming which brings the farmer into intimate association with the economics of the greater society, the non-professional services performed are normally utilized only by members of Bluemenort.

(c) Distribution. Production from the cash grain crops is for the most part marketed in the town of High Level, some seventy miles from Bluemenort. As payment for the marketed crops is received in cash, distribution of goods is relatively simple in Bluemenort. The cash received as payment for crops is used to provide manufactured

goods for family use. In the case of persons who are crop-sharing, the crop is divided before sale and each individual is responsible for marketing his own portion.

(d) Consumption. In the last few years, the demand for consumer goods has greatly increased in Bluemenort. Part of the expanded demand arises from the increased flow of cash into the community. Many items which once had to be produced at home are now easier to buy because modern transport has made the consumer goods more accessible. Even many of the common foodstuffs traditionally produced by the Old Colony are now more easily purchased in the store.

In general, however, the people of Bluemenort are extremely frugal. As much as possible of the cash return on marketed crops is saved. Few of the members of Bluemenort, even those who are the least wealthy, do not have some cash reserves saved.

Mutual Aid

Mutual aid in work or daily affairs is relatively rare. This does not mean that members of the community do not help each other, but simply that for almost any help which is given, payment is expected. The ideal of brotherly love and mutual aid is one aspect of tradition which seems to be overshadowed in the present by individual self-interest, particularly in the realm of economics. Several informants, particularly those who are older, overtly lament

the lack of mutual aid which is manifest presently in Bluemenort.

"This is not the way it was twenty years ago when you needed the help of neighbors and there was a closeness between people. Now, each individual does everything for himself and goes his own way."

Nevertheless, emergencies still bring help from neighbors. The most common and devastating emergency in Bluemenort is fire. Fire is nearly impossible to combat because water is only accessible by draw wells operated by hand. Also, the community has no formal or informal organization prepared to combat fire. All such emergencies are handled on an ad hoc basis.

The only major fire which I personally witnessed in Bluemenort involved a tractor which caught fire while parked between two highly inflammable granaries. When I arrived on the scene, the fire was blazing out of control. Everyone present feared that the gasoline tank would explode and ignite the granaries.

In order to fight the fire, one man was stationed at the draw well. The water which he drew was poured into a large barrel. Women with small milk pails transported water from the barrel to the scene of the fire, a distance of some fifty yards. Here the water was dumped into two buckets held by two older men. These men would approach the fire, hurl the water and run for fear of the gas tank exploding. The older men would not let younger men or women approach the burning wreckage in case of an explosion.

The fire was extinguished before the surrounding buildings ignited. The tractor was nearly demolished. As soon as the fire was put out, the men sat down to rest, discuss the events and inspect the damage. The women immediately disappeared into the house.

When major fires occur in buildings, however, the community is powerless to combat the conflagration. Shortly after the termination of field research, a fire started in one of the general stores in the settlement. As the access to water was limited to one nearby draw well, the entire store and six related buildings burned to the ground causing a loss of nearly one hundred thousand dollars. About twenty-five per cent of this amount was covered by insurance.

CHAPTER THREE

LIFE CYCLE

Socialization

When a child is born in Bluemenort, he is usually greeted very positively and finds the first few years of life relatively free of demands from his human environment. After the birth of a baby, the mother does not leave the house until the following Sunday. On this Sunday, she is expected to take the baby to church as a sign of her thanks to God for the newborn child, after which she is free from any proscriptions regarding confinement.

Traditionally, the child is breastfed though in recent years the use of a bottle is becoming more common. The infant is nourished on a basic diet of milk until he is old enough to sit at the table and feed himself. As a consequence of this iron-deficient milk diet, the physical appearance of an Old Colony infant is usually marked by paleness and chubbiness almost to the point of the skin being puffy.

Infants seem to be constantly carried or held by their mothers or older siblings. A crying baby is picked up and cradled or rocked. However, infants or young children are rarely fondled or physically indulged as in Canadian culture. As a matter of fact, the young adults to whom I spoke all agreed that they could not remember being kissed or fondled by their parents, nor had they ever witnessed

physical displays of affection between their parents. This situation is changing gradually as younger parents seem to be slightly more physically demonstrative toward their children.

At the same time that physical indulgence of children is rare, corporal punishment is apparently equally uncommon. Few adult informants could remember being struck by their parents despite occasional threats of physical punishment. Once again, the younger parents seem more prone to corporal discipline, though such punishment is infrequent.

One young mother recounted the following story.

During a visit to the house of the grandparents, one grandchild refused to obey his mother concerning a certain issue. The grandmother was briefly out of the house getting an armload of firewood. The mother did not strike the child, but grabbed him and set him onto the floor not too gently. The grandmother entered the room just in time to witness the actions of the mother. Though the mother did not hit the child, the slightly rough handling of him so shocked the grandmother that she dropped the wood and fell flat out on her back on the floor. She did not faint, but seemed to be in a state of intense shock.

On only two or three occasions during my entire field experience did I witness a child being struck by an adult.

The children born into the community do not take long to adopt a rather stoical attitude toward life. Excessive emotional displays of any kind are discouraged. The stoicism is apparently encouraged by the intense fear of the father on the part of the children. One adult informant voiced the sentiments of many of his peers when he stated that "when Father even looked our way (toward the children) we were silenced".

The effect of socio-cultural change in Bluemenort is very evident in the behavior of the children. Those raised totally within the confines of the community are more stoical, more fearful of the paternal figure, and unlikely to "talk back" to parents. On the other hand, two young families I had an opportunity to observe closely were raised largely outside of the community because the fathers worked away from Bluemenort. In comparison to children raised exclusively in Bluemenort, the children from these two families were more active, more vocal, less fearful of parents and frequently challenged parental authority. Though I would not imply any necessary causal relationship, an interesting observation is that the children from these two families were also shown more physical affect than their other Old Colony peers, both by way of indulgence and punishment.

Until the age of eight or nine, Old Colony children are allowed to play rather freely without the assignment of many responsibilities. Games emphasizing manual dexterity, puzzles and riddles are among the most popular pastimes of children. I once watched a five year-old girl piece together a one thousand piece adult jigsaw puzzle more adeptly than an average adult from the "greater society". Four or five year-old boys practise taking odd bits of machinery apart, imitating the mechanical interests of their fathers and older brothers. Whole families, from young children to grandparents, will spend an

entire evening challenging each other to solve puzzles or perform feats of manual dexterity. Children are praised as having exceptional ability if they display finesse in these feats.

As team sports are forbidden, children's games are played usually individually or in pairs. Girls play with home-made dolls and boys usually accompany their fathers, finding entertainment in imitating male duties. The only children's game which I observed as peculiar to the Old Colony is "Turks and Russians". Small circles and squares representing two opposing armies and an arrow are carved from wood. The children line up the "soldiers" facing each other on the floor. The arrow is in turn slid along the floor to knock over the opposing soldiers. The first child to have all his soldiers knocked over loses the game. This particular game is of some historical and traditional interest, but is becoming less and less common in the community.

By the time children are nine or ten years of age, they begin to assume specific responsibilities. Girls perform household chores and tend younger children. Boys generally assume farm chores in addition to lending extra help wherever possible during spring seeding and fall harvest. From this age to the time when children may legally leave school, the youngsters are frequently kept home from school for periods of time in order to help with special tasks. A family with several children is fairly well assured of a present and future labor force so essential in a farming community.

Youth

The period from about fourteen years of age to the time when the young person joins the church at about twenty or twenty-one years of age is a distinctly identifiable stage of life in Bluemenort. During this time, the young person ceases to be strongly disciplined by parents and is not yet a church member, so church sanctions cannot be applied. This period seems to be implicitly acknowledged in the community as a time for the young person to "sow his wild oats" in an atmosphere relatively free from constraint. Indeed, the same father whose authority was supreme and unquestioned during childhood now exerts very little influence over the actions of the youth. One father, whose words echo the sentiments of many parents in Bluemenort, told me that his sixteen year-old son ". . . has run wild. I have no more control over him."

Traditionally, the youth worked at home during the week and gravitated toward a nearby farm where the young folks met on the Saturday. Each week-end, a different farm was chosen to "host" the gathering. Each farm had a bunkhouse where the young people could stay for the evening.

In all such week-end activity, the older folks were conspicuous for their absence. If a dance or party became too rowdy, some adult intervention might occur. But for the most part, the youth were left alone--the adults secure in the knowledge of where they were and what the activities were likely to be.

The advent of motorized transport remarkably changed the perspective of the youth. Most young men either own their own car or half-ton truck or have access to such a vehicle. Instead of week-end gatherings of large groups of young persons in the local area, increased mobility allows the youth to attend parties or have a date any day of the week and within a much greater radius of home.

At the time of field research, week-end gatherings of youth on a particular farm were non-existent. Few farms had bunkhouses remaining. The only social events involving group participation were wedding or engagement parties or dances. Large social gatherings had given way to dating and social occasions of a more individualized nature. Rapid transportation made liquor more available and few social events are now devoid of alcoholic beverages. The increased privacy made possible by the car completely re-oriented patterns of courtship and indeed all social activities of youth.

From the viewpoint of the adult community, the effect of the car on the activities of the young people is devastating. Parents no longer are aware of where the young people go and what they do. The accessibility of liquor is an issue of vital concern. Some of the adults claim that the young people are no longer as effective on the farm because they stay out too late on week nights and thus cannot work to capacity during the day. Many adults also assert that petty crime has increased since the advent of the car.

While traditionally the period of youth was a time of decidedly relaxed restraints, the youth in Bluemenort today often view this time as an opportunity to escape from any of the influences of the community. Consequently, many of the youths, particularly young men, leave Bluemenort for several months or even a few years to work in the "outside world". During this time, they indulge freely in the officially proscribed affairs of the "greater society".

While some of these young people are permanently lost to the community, the majority return eventually to Bluemenort, though in the last few years the number of permanent defections has been an increasing source of alarm and despair in the adult community. Those who do return, however, are usually in search of a spouse and consequently are contemplating joining the church and "settling down". Most young people join the church between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one. Upon being accepted into the church, the carefree license of youth is suspended, and the new member is expected to assume the obligations and responsibilities of full adult membership in the community of the church.

Sex, Courtship and Marriage

Traditionally, the Old Colony of Bluemenort do not seem to have a concept of romantic love similar to that expressed in general Canadian society. Indeed, there appears to be some question as to

whether or not the Old Colony have a word in their language which may be translated "love" in a romantic sense. Motivation for courtship and marriage, then, is not similar to the ideal of "falling in love" characteristic of Canadian society. Consequently, legitimated sexual relations, compatibility and the assumption of familial responsibilities have apparently been traditional motives for marriage in Bluemenort.

However, by the time field research began in the community, certain notions of romantic love had spread among the younger persons in the community. These ideas emanated from increased personal contact with individuals from the "outside world" as well as from viewing Hollywood movie productions.

In many ways, Bluemenort has a double standard of sexual morality. On one hand, sexual relations are proscribed outside of marriage. Virginity is officially valued, particularly in the girls of the community. On the other hand, the period of youth is viewed as a time of sexual experimentation and "sowing of wild oats", especially for the young men. Even the qualifications for becoming a bishop allow for the period of youth in that a bishop must not have had improper sexual relationships after joining the church.

Similarly, in the adult community of church membership, marital fidelity is rigorously enjoined. Excommunication may result for a breach of propriety in this regard. On the other hand, reinstatement

is relatively rapid if the offender apologizes to the congregation. This cycle may be repeated frequently so that any individual prone to extramarital relationships is not impeded at all so long as he or she apologizes and thus becomes ritually purified for receiving communion. Failure to do so is viewed as an affront to the community.

Traditionally, the young man would go to the home of his girl-friend to visit in the evening or during the week-end. Courtship took place in the bedroom of the girl where the couple was left alone to visit in privacy. While some physical contact between the couple took place in such cases, intercourse was apparently infrequent.

Today, with courtship involving dating for a party, dance or movie, mobile privacy afforded by cars is vastly different from the situation when courting took place at the home of the bride. As a consequence, the adults decry the declining morality of the younger people. Premarital intercourse apparently is common and pregnancy before marriage is not infrequent. One reliable informant stated that in one recent year, six out of seven girls joining the church were pregnant at the time of being admitted into the membership.

Apart from the informal experimentation by the young people in sexual matters, little sexual information is passed from parents to children. Informants agree almost unanimously that "many people get married and never know the 'facts of life'." One anecdote which was constantly offered to demonstrate this point is as follows:

One couple was married and moved into a small house immediately adjacent to the home of the parents of the bride. On the wedding night, the bride arose in the middle of the night and returned to her parent's house. She awakened one of her brothers and asked him to go out and sleep with the groom because the groom "would not leave her alone". Ostensibly, the bride had no idea what the groom wanted.

One stereotype of the Old Colony which is commonly perpetrated by the "outside world" is that father-daughter incest is very common in the community. In fact, the incidence of incest is probably statistically lower than in Canadian society generally. Only four cases of incest may be reasonably attributed (based on reliable informants and documentation of the public health services) to the Old Colony of the larger LaCrete-Ft. Vermilion area. Of these cases, none occurred in the settlement of Bluemenort.

Marriage between first cousins does occasionally take place. However, public opinion in Bluemenort mitigates against such unions. Marriage of second cousins carries no stigma and because of the limited population, is often practised.

Within the community of Bluemenort, endogamy is encouraged in that the Old Colony young people are taught that they should marry Old Colony. Even marriage between an Old Colony person and an individual from a different Mennonite group is frowned upon in Bluemenort. With the advent of the car into the community, exogamy is becoming much more common. This is another source of deep concern to the community as defections through intermarriage with non-Old Colony are increasing in frequency.

Church Membership

In Bluemenort, an opportunity for church membership occurs each spring around the time of Pentecost. Those who have voiced the intention of joining the church have prepared for some time by memorizing the Catechism. The catechism is recited in High German and consequently is often largely unintelligible to the individuals concerned. Those who are eligible to join the church are usually between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one.

On the Sunday two weeks before Pentecost, those aspiring to membership are seated in the front row of the church, the girls on the right of the minister, and the boys on his left. Following the usual singing of hymns and the Scripture reading, those who wish to join the church are asked to stand. The Bishop reads alternate questions in the Catechism first to the boys and then to the girls. The response is recited individually with the exception of the Lord's Prayer which is recited in unison. The total Catechism is reviewed in this manner, a process which takes two services. The ceremony begins on the appointed Sunday and continues on the following Thursday, the total time allotted to recitation of the Catechism being four or five hours. The following Sunday during the church service, the aspirants are asked various questions concerning the significance of church membership. At the end of the service, the women leave the church and the men stay behind to further question the male

aspirants. Typical questions include issues such as sex and the intention of upholding the traditions of the forefathers. Also, the man must promise that if selected, he will assume the role of minister or bishop.

The following week leading to Pentecost is viewed as a week during which the young aspirants "prepare themselves". The prospective member ought to search his heart to determine if there are any reasons why he should not be allowed to join the church. He is also to settle any grievances or grudges against other members.

On the Sunday morning of Pentecost, the aspirants are baptized and officially accepted into membership. The church service begins as usual with the singing of hymns. Near the conclusion of the second hymn, the deacon walks up the aisle of the church carrying a pitcher of water covered with a white cloth. This is placed on the podium in front of the Bishop. The aspirants are instructed to kneel on the floor at the front of the church. The Bishop addresses each prospective member in turn, and baptizes them in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. For each Person of the Trinity, a measure of water is poured from the pitcher directly upon the head of the aspirant. Following baptism, each individual is welcomed into the fellowship of the church.

The Sunday following Pentecost is a day of thanks for the provision of new members for the church. The second Sunday after Pentecost is usually Holy Communion and is the first communion in which the new members are allowed to participate.

At the time of acceptance of new members into the church, the attention of the community is focused upon the young persons concerned. The adeptness of the present year's recitation of the catechism is compared with the facility of young aspirants of past years. Similarly, a great deal of inter-family rivalry exists with regard to the recitation of the catechism. Families are proud to be able to point back to a long list of perfect recitations by family members. Consequently, at the time of the investiture ceremonies, the young prospective members are placed under great pressure to perform in a commendable manner. The year in which I had the opportunity to witness the ceremony, girls fainted several times from the pressure of the occasion. Also, this was the first year in memory in which no person aspiring to membership was able to complete the total catechism. The older people viewed this inability as another indication of the progressive decline of the traditional values and ideals of the Old Colony community. Consequently, rather than being a totally joyful occasion, the event was overshadowed by an element of despair.

Adulthood and Old Age

Adult roles in Bluemenort vary mainly according to sex. Ideally, an Old Colony woman should have several children and manage daily household affairs including the growing of a garden. Fulfillment of life as an adult female apparently is measured largely in terms of these activities.

The ideal life pattern for an Old Colony adult male is to marry, support a large family (particularly boys as they provide a ready supply of farm labor and the consequent possibility of wealth), and attain as great a measure of wealth as possible. Indeed, while the accumulation of conspicuous wealth is definitely frowned upon by the community, the adult males carry on a relatively covert, but fierce, independent competition for wealth. The accumulation of wealth and occupying the role of a religious functionary (or both) are the ultimate sources of prestige for the adult Old Colony man.

Old age deprives the Old Colony woman of her family. The period of life which commences when the last child leaves home seems to be very harsh for the elderly women. Many feel that their reason to live has disappeared.

Two institutionalized patterns of behavior are manifest at this stage of life. The first sign of the "post family" period appears in the woman's lack of interest in tending her garden. Many friends, neighbors or relatives comment on a given elderly woman's sudden ineptitude in raising vegetables or the lack of weeding of the garden.

The second behavioral symptom of the "post family" period is that the woman will sit in a chair staring at the wall sometimes for hours at a time. Her face is totally expressionless and often, because of a lack of response to outside stimuli, the individual seems to be in a trance-like state. In general, then, the older women of the community usually lose a great deal of interest in daily affairs and events when their families are no longer living at home.

Life for older men in Bluemenort does not seem to entail the same element of despair. Men farm until they are physically unable to do so any longer. At that point, the farm is sold (often to a son) and the proceeds are utilized as a sort of pension. An alternative is to rent the land on a crop-sharing basis and to use the proceeds as a pension.

The period of retirement is often used for extensive visiting-- often on an international scale. Relatives and friends in Manitoba or Saskatchewan are frequently visited and journeys of similar purpose are also made to Old Mexico, Bolivia or British Honduras. So long as a sufficient fortune has been accumulated to finance retirement, the Old Colony man seems to feel relatively secure in this role.

Death

When a member of Bluemenort dies, friends, neighbors and close relatives are usually notified at once and gather at the home of the deceased to sing a few hymns. Some of the women will wash the

body and the men lay the corpse on a hard bench or boards. After the hymns are sung, the body is placed in ice and sawdust and is laid temporarily in an unheated building. Before the assembled persons return home, plans for the funeral are discussed and various duties--digging the grave, building the coffin, etc.--are assigned. Some of the friends or relatives may remain over night with the bereaved family.

Usually, coffin makers are part-time specialists in the village. Similarly, a few women become known and recognized as "dressing women". When the coffin is finished, the "dressing women" again wash the body and lay it in the coffin on top of sawdust covered with white linen which is then tacked to the side of the coffin. The hands are folded on the breast and are visible above the linen cover.

The funeral invitation is a simple letter announcing the death of the deceased and is written by the family of the dead person. Following the letter is an appended list of names of the invited guests. The family of the deceased passes the letter to the first name on the list who, after he has read the invitation, passes the letter on to the second listed guest, the second to the third, and so on, until all the guests on the list have received the invitation.

On the other hand, some funerals may be "free", that is, anyone is welcome to attend. In either case, food is prepared and served after the funeral the same as for an engagement party or a wedding.

CHAPTER FOUR

POLITICO-RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

World View

One important point must preface any discussion concerning the world view of the Old Colony of Bluemenort. Rational consistency in beliefs, values or behavior is of no synchronic importance but is a diachronic imperative. By this I mean that various aspects of life are not synchronically intellectualized and philosophically integrated. For example, religious beliefs may have no bearing on economic transactions. On the other hand, consistency with tradition is imperative. A man will be criticized for deviating from tradition and thus being "inconsistent" with the way of life of the Old Colony.

A complicating factor in the pursuit of diachronic consistency is the lack of historical perception on the part of the Old Colony. While the members of Bluemenort manifest an intense reverence for tradition, legends and stories provide the primary insight into their own history. Bluemenort, as a part-society, possesses what Redfield calls a "little tradition" which ". . . is for the most part taken for granted and not submitted to much scrutiny or considered refinement and improvement" (Redfield 1960:42).

Conflict characterizes most interaction with the "outside world".

The "greater society" is viewed as a hostile encroaching force bent on shattering the way of life of the Old Colony. Similarly, the "world" is viewed as an evil enticement seeking to lure the young people away from the community and the ideal of an isolated agricultural existence.

Withdrawal from the greater society is constantly enjoined by admonitions to refrain from worldliness. This theme is reiterated in almost every sermon and is echoed by the elders in advice to the young people.

To the members of Bluemenort, worldliness is not an abstraction. The worldly man or woman may be very readily and objectively identified. Worldliness is both concrete and finite. Typical manifestations of worldliness include abandonment of traditional apparel (particularly for women), wearing of a ring or wrist watch, attendance at a movie, living outside of the community, playing a musical instrument or speaking English. At one time during fieldwork, I asked one informant if I was a worldly man. "No, you are not," he replied. When I asked him why not, he said, "because your wife dresses modestly."

Withdrawal from the "outside world" is not only a defense against the "profane", secular society, but is also to isolate and preserve the "sacred" elements within. The members of Bluemenort have an intense sense of being God's chosen people with the duty not to missionize, but to preserve the sacred theocracy. The elements to be preserved are rarely theological positions but are aspects of

the traditional ethnic way of life. A few of the Old Colony believe that Christ was a German and that to be Christian means to be born Old Colony, to be a speaker of the dialect, and to preserve the ethnic way of life.

To attempt to outline an integrated theology ostensibly systematized by the Old Colony would be a total misrepresentation of the data. The usual answer given to a query of a theological nature is "I don't know. You should go and ask the Bishop."

However, the members of Bluemenort do espouse certain religious principles. They believe rather literally in Luther's translation of the Bible. They believe in an anthropomorphic God and Satan, a literal heaven and hell and life after death. Most informants agree that it is very difficult to be wealthy and to be a Christian. The true Christian should constantly be in the process of limiting his wealth. Also, the Christian should be willing to share with other members of the community in a spirit of brotherly kindness.

Concerning salvation, the Old Colony believe that a man must live "in the best way he knows how". In this way, providing he has been baptized, he is acceptable to God and will enjoy life after death in heaven. A man must also settle all wrongs between himself and others before he dies.

The ideal vocation is farming. The Old Colony have very close ties to the land. As one informant remarked, "the Old Colony should stay home and not mix with people who are not his own and should cultivate the soil because farming is the best way of life." Indeed,

many of the older members of Bluemenort lament the fact that the young men do not return from the outside world to take over the farm. "I just can't keep the boy at home" is a common complaint of the elders in the community.

In conflict with the religious and ethnic beliefs and values in Bluemenort are economic values which pervade almost every aspect of life. At the present time, the community seems to be involved in a subtle struggle for power between the religious and economic elements. Community leadership, traditionally the jurisdiction of religious functionaries, on a practical level depends largely on the concentration of wealth. On the other hand, any service, no matter how small, performed by one person for another is compensated for by the offer of cash payment. The inevitable response for performance of the most simple favor is, "How much do I owe you?"

The pervasive economic attitude precipitates numerous disputes and ill will which leads to factionalism. For example, the young men say that they cannot get a start in farming because the older men will not help them without being paid. "They (the older men) reason like this: I had to pay dearly for the things which I have now. I started with nothing. I should now be compensated for all I own." As one young man expressed his view, "The old folks want us to come back to the community and farm. But they will not give us the farm and let us take care of them when they are too old to run

it. They want also to be paid inflated prices for even the oldest and most abused equipment. If I agreed to a deal like this, they would laugh at me behind my back because they had taken me."

Grudges which erupt from economic causes frequently develop into what could only be described as family feuds which may last several years. One of the frequent topics of conversation involves the despair of members of the community concerning the inordinate focus of community life on economic transactions and the hope expressed that if the community could only migrate, the resulting problems could be left behind.

Many persons claim that years ago, things were not like this and neighbors were helpful. Everyone contributed as they could to the church treasury and the poor or victims of misfortunes were aided from these funds. But now people say everybody selfishly looks after himself and does not see his neighbor's need.

Thus, while certain aspects of a theocratic world view are often idealized, on a practical level, there exists an intense conflict between an extremely capitalistic perspective and an ideal ethic of altruism and neighborly concern.

Church Organization

When the Old Colony migrated to the LaCrete-Ft. Vermilion region, the government of Alberta would not allow the establishment of traditional village layouts. The Old Colony were forced to

acquire land in minimum parcels of a quarter section, the same as any other homesteaders were required to do. As a consequence, the government rather unwittingly dealt a devastating blow to the politico-religious structure of Bluemenort and other Old Colony settlements. Bluemenort retains the theoretical politico-religious structure of traditional offices and positions of service and leadership in the community. However, with the exception of the solely religious positions, the holders of the various offices serve no practical function at the present time.

Spiritual leadership in Bluemenort is ultimately the responsibility of the Bishop of the Church. The Bishop serves several village congregations including three in the greater Ft. Vermilion area, one in Worsley, Alberta, one in British Honduras and four in Bolivia (since the termination of field research, the Bolivian villages have renounced the present Canadian bishop and elected a new Bishop from one of their own villages).

There are several general qualifications for a man assuming the office of Bishop. A bishop must have complete control over his family in a manner which is admonished in the New Testament. He must have no sexual relations other than with his wife after he joins the church. A bishop must first have been a minister before assuming the higher office. A bishop is entitled to office on the basis of attaining a simple majority in an election where every male member of the church holds one vote.

A special meeting of the men (brouderschaft) is called to elect a new bishop. After an allotted time is spent in prayer, the first name which comes to the mind of an individual is the one for which that person is supposed to vote. The belief is firmly held that God will guide the choice of a new Bishop by placing the right name in the minds of a majority of the brouderschaft.

The official view is that not even informal campaigning is done for the office of Bishop. On a practical plane, however, many informants suggested that when an election is in the offing, certain persons make their desire to hold the office known to their supporters. Consequently, informal factions are established which may back a certain candidate.

The Bishop theoretically holds ultimate authority in all matters of theology and is responsible for "shepherding the flock". Only the Bishop may administer communion and similarly, he is the only religious functionary who may baptize new members into the church. The Bishop receives no salary and is only a part-time religious specialist as he must maintain his farm and earn a living in the same manner as any other member of the community.

Ministers are elected in the same way as is a bishop. Basically, a minister must possess the same qualifications as a bishop though the responsibilities of a minister are more limited. A minister serves primarily as a preacher at Sunday services; he is entitled to perform marriages and officiate at funerals; and he is a guardian of the traditions and spiritual values of the community.

In the greater LaCrete-Ft. Vermilion area, the ministers and the Bishop rotate in a weekly sequence from one church to the other.* The sermons which are preached at the regular Sunday services are read from sermon books which are often passed from generation to generation of preachers. Occasionally, a minister may add an original sermon of his own, but if so, it is carefully written out in the book of sermons before it is presented publicly. If a minister is illiterate, as occasionally happens, he memorizes the traditional sermons and recites them to the congregation. While in the pulpit, ministers and the Bishop wear distinctive clerical garb consisting of high black riding boots, black breeks, a black collar-less shirt worn backwards so no buttons are showing down the front, and a black, tailed coat. On other public occasions, these clerical garments are abandoned for a regular black suit, black shoes, black shirt and black peaked cap.

The deacon is also an elected leader who is primarily responsible for assisting the ministers and Bishop in the menial tasks associated with these offices. For example, the deacon is responsible for contacting those who may be summoned to Dunnedauh on any particular occasion. Usually there are only two deacons serving simultaneously in any given congregation.

* There are three Old Colony churches in the LaCrete-Ft. Vermilion area. Thus, the Bishop preaches at each church every third Sunday. Similarly, ministers rotate weekly from church to church. However, as there are five ministers, each one may preach only once every second or third week.

The vorschteher is in charge of all monetary matters connected with the church. In fact, in addition to handling the economic affairs of the church, he is responsible for all material possessions and organizing of activities associated with the church. For example, the vorschteher assigns money to the poor as these funds are designated by the brouderschaft. Poverty assistance, however, is more commonly in the form of consumer or capital goods rather than a straight money dole. When the poor family becomes self-supporting again, it is expected that the money or goods will be repaid to the church by way of the vorschteher.

The waisenman is a person appointed to oversee the division of goods belonging to the estate of a dead man. By Old Colony custom, one half of the estate is assigned to the widow of the deceased man and the remaining half is divided equally among the children. Children may not inherit their portion of an estate until they reach the age of twenty-one. Until this time, the child's portion of the estate is held in trust by the church. If the widow wishes to borrow from the church using the child's portion as collateral, she may do so, but interest must be paid on such a loan.

Upon the death of a married man in the community, two goutmaner are appointed to act in the capacity of the dead man. The goutmaner are appointed by the schulten (the assembly of the men of the village on church business is called the brouderschaft; the same assembly when convened to conduct village business is called the schulten) and are from the same village as the deceased. The goutmaner are

responsible for advising the widow on courses of action in village social life and political affairs. They may even discipline the children, but in general, the goutmaner are expected to give male leadership to the family of the deceased.

The reekner are accountants appointed by popular vote of the male members of the church. The responsibility of these men is to audit annually the books of all those who handle money on behalf of the church. Two such accountants serve the congregation at any one time. A similar menial task is that of the "road counselors" who are two men appointed to maintain the roads, trails, and paths in the traditional community.

The schult is essentially the mayor of the village. Though the schult has no direct religious authority, he is responsible for overseeing all political, economic and fiscal affairs of the village. He is responsible to some extent for social control and some informants maintain that the schult has the authority to order a man to be whipped for failure to comply with village regulations. Traditionally, the schult exercised jurisdiction over village layout, surveying of land, and building and maintenance of the church, the roads, the school and the community pasture.

The final formally recognized office in the politico-religious structure of Bluemenort is that of school teacher (larner) who traditionally lived on the plot of land set aside for the schoolhouse. The teacher is paid a small monthly salary by the church and is allowed to farm the supplementary land attached to the school lot.

In addition, the teacher may have title to a personal plot of land in the village. The position of teacher, though filled ideally by a male member of the community, is the only formal office which, under extenuating circumstances, may be filled by a woman.

Emphasis must once again be placed on the fact that in Bluemenort in Canada, all the above-mentioned positions, with the exception of the solely religious offices, are filled in name only. For all intents and purposes, the Low German school is no longer functioning. Roads are maintained by the provincial government. Because of the layout of the community, the schult has no real responsibilities. Very little assistance has been given to the poor in recent years. The political offices and positions in the politico-religious structure of Bluemenort are largely vestiges of a traditional non-functioning system.

The members of Bluemenort have a strong distaste for the formal system of law and court justice imposed upon them by the "greater society". To take another member of the community to court in order to settle a dispute is a grievous breach of the ethical code of the group. When an outsider takes a member of Bluemenort to court, this act is viewed as another example of the persecution of God's people by the worldly outsiders.

Ideally, if a man has a grievance against another member of the community, he is to make some attempt to settle the matter privately. If the dispute cannot be settled privately, the offended

man goes to the minister and explains his side of the story. Then the minister calls in the offender who is invited to explain his viewpoint. This process of alternating testimony is repeated until "all the evidence is gathered". Once all the facts of the case have been presented, the ministers discuss the matter among themselves. The ministers are expected to reach a unanimous verdict concerning how the dispute is to be settled. The decision of the ministers is announced to all parties involved in the issue and all parties are expected to comply with the verdict. If any party does not comply with the decision of the ministers, shunning and ultimately excommunication may be invoked.

Few, if any, formally structured and articulated laws exist in Bluemenort. The only emergence of formal law takes place when the brouderschaft passes an ad hoc law to deal with a certain temporary problem or situation. The only example of such a law which I witnessed during field research took place in Bluemenort in Bolivia where the brouderschaft issued a decree that no more than three single men could hold title to land in the village at any one time. This formal law was passed in order to limit the size of the village and to encourage the establishment of new independent settlements.

By far the majority of "prosecutions", however, are brought about due to individual violations of traditional, informal principles of association of the community. When an individual commits a breach of tradition or does something judged by the Bishop or ministers not to be in the best interests of the community, the man may be hailed to Dunneddaugh.

Sanctioning Mechanisms

Dunneddaugh is a regular weekly meeting officiated by the ministers and Bishop and held in the church each Thursday afternoon. Those persons who have violated some precept of the community are summoned to appear before the religious functionaries who admonish the offenders to cease grieving the community and to mend their ways. After being reprimanded, the guilty parties are expected to apologize and to ask for forgiveness. If the offender is appropriately contrite, no further action is taken. However, to defy the counsel of the clergy at Dunneddaugh is to invite shunning and possible excommunication.

In recent years, the efficacy of Dunneddaugh, and indeed all forms of sanctioning in Bluemenort, has deteriorated greatly. Even shunning and excommunication either are not able to be maintained on a practical level, or due to the geographical integration of Bluemenort with the "larger society", the ban no longer invokes the devastating social isolation which is possible in an isolated, homogeneous community. In the present Bluemenort where participation and competition in a cash economy demands a great majority of the time and effort of the individual, and where increased mobility allows the cultivation of social relationships outside of the community, shunning is impossible and excommunication is not a serious social impediment. One possible reason for the establishment of

relationships outside the community is that the younger people, having been educated in the provincial school system, attain status in the eyes of their peers and of teachers by interaction with persons from the "outside world".

Six major reasons may be suggested for the ineffectiveness of traditional mechanisms of social control in Bluemenort today. First, increased mobility due to mechanized transport and good roads provides easy access to the social milieu of the greater society. Second, the settlement pattern of Bluemenort is such that families of non-Old Colony affiliation may be immediate neighbors of the Old Colony families. The absence of the homogeneous traditional village physical layout is a major, if not the foremost detriment to the maintenance of the Old Colony sanctioning system. Third, present emphasis on a cash economy has meant that the community has no control over essential services or the system of distribution of produced goods. Economic sanctions, traditionally an aspect of the ban, are meaningless in an externally oriented cash economy. Fourth, the religious and political leaders in the community violate traditional principles, a fact which severely lessens their authority among the remainder of the people. For example, when the Bishop called several young men to Dunnedauh and reprimanded them for playing baseball, one of the boys retorted, "I don't see what is wrong with us playing baseball when you drive a car." Fifth, the reorientation of values from a religious to an economic rationale makes sanctioning impossible. For instance, if

participation in the ban may work to the economic disadvantage of an individual, such a person will be reluctant to engage in shunning. Particularly if the offender is wealthy and shunning him would be economically detrimental to an individual or to the community as a whole, the ban is not uniformly applied to all members of Bluemenort. Sixth, many persons in the community feel that the clergy give preferential treatment to close friends or family members. Resentment of this nature is based on the claim that ordinary members of the community would be severely reprimanded or sanctioned for action which would be overlooked in the case of friends or relations of the clergy.

Rites and Ceremonies

(a) Marriage. Marriage usually takes place in the spring or the summer and often occurs immediately following church membership. The ceremony is always performed on a Sunday, usually during the early afternoon. On the Saturday eight days prior to the ceremony, the engagement party occurs. On the Wednesday prior to the engagement party, all those who will attend both the engagement party and the wedding are invited. The format of the invitation is similar to that circulated for a funeral, except that for a wedding, the guest list is established by the parents of the bride.

The women who are invited meet and prepare a batch of dough for bread the day before the engagement party. Each woman takes a

portion of the dough to her own home and bakes a quantity of buns for the party.

An engagement party is an avidly anticipated social event. The guests begin to arrive at the home of the bride-to-be (where the party is held) during the middle of the afternoon. Congratulations are extended to the engaged couple, following which the guests mingle to exchange news and gossip. Sometimes a few hymns are sung. Lunch, which consists of the buns baked by the women, cookies, coffee and sugar lumps, is served.

In the evening following the official engagement party, the young people of the community gravitate toward the home of the bride-to-be. Usually, a dance and party spontaneously emanate from this congregation of young people. The festivities usually do not end until the early hours of the morning.

The day after the engagement party, the wedding bands* are read in the morning church service. During the following week the engaged couple circulate throughout the community visiting friends and relatives. On the Sunday eight days after the engagement party, the wedding ceremony takes place in the church.

At the beginning of the service, two chairs are placed in front of the pulpit and the couple to be married sit with their backs to the congregation. The choir enters and take their places on the left side of the pulpit (the right from the perspective of the congregation).

* Family history of each of the engaged couple.

After the singing of hymns, the ministers and Bishop enter and are seated on the right side of the pulpit. Either the Bishop or the ministers may conduct the service.

The content of the ceremony is not different in principle to weddings conducted in general Canadian society. The bride and groom exchange vows. The minister gives admonitions concerning the raising of children. A prayer is offered and the service comes to a close. The bride and groom rise and leave the church first. The congregation then leaves row by row as in a normal Sunday service.

Following the ceremony in the church, the reception takes place at the house of the bride. As with the engagement party, a lunch is served. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the lunch is over and the guests leave for home. Later in the afternoon, the young people gravitate again toward the house of the bride in the hope that a party may be generated.

(b) Holy Communion. Any member of the Old Colony church may participate in a communion service. The obligation of a participant is that he has "examined his own heart" to determine that he is worthy to take communion. In theory, this also implies that the participant has settled all disputes, grudges or misunderstandings between himself and other members of the community. In fact, such cementing of personal relationships rarely takes place and, as several individuals remarked to me, they could not understand how some of the members of the church could partake of communion sitting

side by side on the church bench and yet having intense ongoing contempt for each other.

Holy Communion takes place twice yearly, in the late spring and fall, and is administered by the Bishop. The Bishop stands at the door of the church and welcomes each member as he comes in. At the same time, those who are not church members are told that they cannot enter. The service assumes the usual format in that there is singing and the usual sermon.

Following the regular service, the Bishop passes a small tray of unleavened bread to each communicant. Each participating individual has with him a special white linen handkerchief. The congregation remains seated and the Bishop places a piece of bread on the handkerchief and closes the person's hand around the bread. The bread remains in the handkerchief until after the words of Christ concerning the bread are spoken and the Bishop has blessed it. Then all partake of the bread at the same time.

The wine is similarly blessed by the Bishop and the words of Christ concerning the wine are repeated. The wine is in several community cups. Each individual drinks in turn, wipes the brim of the cup with his white handkerchief and passes it to the next person. As the cup of wine is passed, a ritualized inclining of the head takes place so that the heads of the two persons involved meet temple to temple. This is a symbolic acknowledgement that both parties have "searched their hearts" and no grievance exists between them. After the singing of a hymn, the congregation files out.

(c) Church Services. The Bluemenort Church is entirely unpainted on the exterior. Inside, it is painted army gray and white with the exception of the backless benches which are neither painted nor varnished. Sawdust lightly covers the floor. Precisely in the center of the room is a metal pot-bellied stove for use during the cold winter months. At the back of the church is a vestibule mainly utilized by women with crying children. Stemming from the vestibule is an anteroom where the choir (vorsangers) and ministers gather prior to the service.

In Canada, all the parishioners drive to church in cars or half-ton trucks. Driving into the churchyard, the vehicles stop at the door of the church where the women and children get out and file immediately into the building to take their places. The men and older boys park the vehicles and remain in them for some time. The vehicles are parked in two long lines extending from the side of the church. The vehicles in one line face those in the other line.

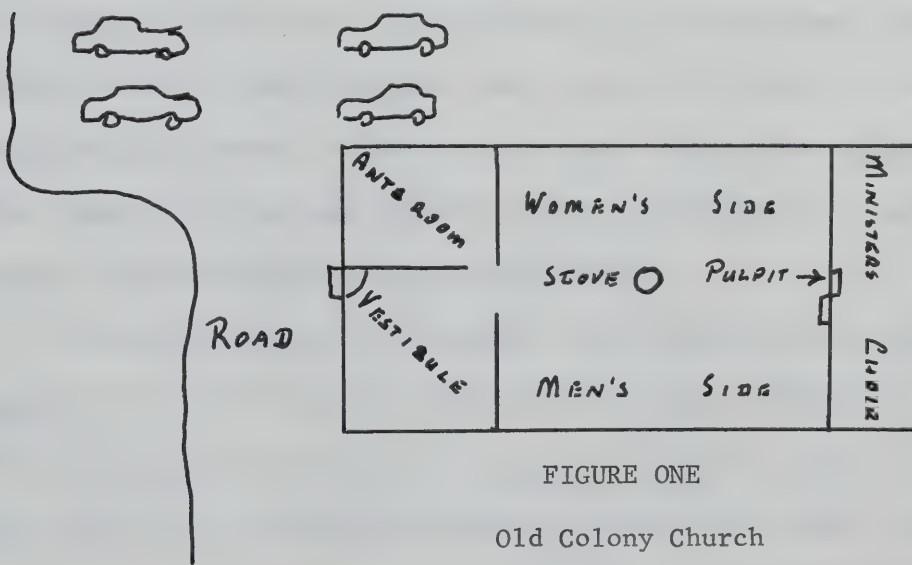


FIGURE ONE

Old Colony Church

The men and older boys sit in the vehicles and chat for some time until, as if by mutual understanding (as no particular time is specified), the men move into the church where the women and children are already seated. As one enters the church from the back, the men sit on the right and the women on the left. Above the men's benches, two-by-fours with protruding nails provide a hat rack for each place on each bench. The men file in, place their hats on the nail immediately above their place on the bench and sit down.

After a few minutes of waiting in total silence, the vorsangers enter the sanctuary from the back. They file to the front in descending order of seniority (that is, the one who has been a singer for the longest time leads; the others follow in the order of seniority). At the front, a small traffic jam results as the newest vorsanger must enter the choir bench first so that the oldest member may sit nearest the ministers. When the singers are finally seated, the senior member calls out the number of the hymn to be sung and then calls out the first line of the song. Each person takes his hymn book from the cover case in which it is transported and opens to the correct hymn. The senior vorsanger, after turning to the song himself, repeats the number. Usually the language used in this process is High German.

The choir, prior to the service, has chosen the cantor (auf-sanger) for each of the two hymns which are sung. The cantor starts singing the first line alone and the note he ends on is the one on which the congregation begins. Between each verse, the cantor also sings an extremely intricate interlude consisting of many incidental notes.

The voice tone used in Old Colony singing seems loud and nasally harsh to the non-Old Colony ear. The tone is flat and devoid of any vibrato. The pace is extremely slow with sometimes one syllable extending over three or more full notes. The melody does not vary more than an octave and is almost always in a minor key. Every song is filled with trills and incidentals which are extremely difficult to reproduce. Yet, in many ways, the music has the quality and style of plainsong. There is no vocal harmony and instruments are forbidden.*

Not many of the men in the congregation sing. Many of the young people claim that they find it impossible to reproduce the necessary voice quality. The progressive frequency with which the young people cannot sing in the Old Colony style is a source of intense concern to their elders.

Following the singing of two hymns, a procedure taking from thirty to forty minutes as some songs have twenty or more verses, the members of the congregation close their hymn books and replace them in the book sheaths.

At this point, the ministers enter from the rear of the church. The eldest leads. If the Bishop is present, he leads, but will stop upon entering the sanctuary and bless the congregation, "May the peace of the Lord be with you." The ministers sit on the platform on the women's side of the church and face the congregation.

* The music has a distinct quality and tone. Indeed, many informants maintained that as children they were terrified of the sound of hymns being sung in the Old Colony style.

The minister begins to read the sermon in High German. His voice during the sermon assumes a singsong type of chant. Twice during the service the congregation is admonished to kneel and pray silently. They kneel on the sawdust-covered floor facing their own bench. Their heads are placed on folded arms in such a way that they are not kneeling erect, but with their heads flat on folded arms on the benches.

If the minister deviates from his written sermon, he lapses into the Low German dialect and the tone of his voice becomes conversational. (If, as occasionally happens, the minister is illiterate, he memorizes the sermons and repeats them in High German.)

At the end of the sermon (which may last from one to two hours) another hymn is sung, after which the men rise and quickly file out of the church row by row. The women follow in similar manner. A few words may be exchanged between individuals in the church yard, but usually everybody gets into their vehicles and quickly disperses.

(d) Funerals. On the day of the funeral, close friends and relatives arrive at the home of the deceased for the noon meal. The coffin is taken to the church in the forenoon and is placed inside on two benches near the podium. The mourners arrive and gradually fill the church as for a regular service. The family of the deceased enters the church early and is seated around the coffin. This is the only occasion on which the rules may be broken concerning women sitting on one side of the church and men on the other.

Except for the content of the sermon, the funeral service is similar in format to a regular Sunday service. The funeral sermon tends to concentrate on the "this world-other world" theme. If the deceased is an adult or has not died of natural causes, the Bishop usually officiates. In other cases, a minister may be in charge of the service.

After the service, the coffin is carried outside for viewing. It is lifted onto a half-ton truck which heads the procession to the graveyard. (If the death is by suicide, Old Colony law does not allow the body to be buried in the graveyard. The burial takes place outside the fence.) The grave, which has been covered with rough boards, is uncovered and the coffin is placed on poles over the opening. The casket is opened and the minister or Bishop says a few final words over the body. The coffin is then sealed and lowered on ropes. Spades are provided and the men fill the grave, finishing the top in a mound shape. The grave is not marked by a headstone. The people offer a silent prayer and return to the church or the home of the deceased. Lunch is served and a few hymns are sung.

The following morning, at a specially prepared breakfast at the home of the deceased, a few relatives or close friends will sing a few hymns before eating. This marks the end of the funeral.

CHAPTER FIVE

BLUEMENORT IN THE GREATER SOCIETY

Bluemernort and the Canadian Authorities

The Old Colony often seem to consider themselves immune from certain aspects of Canadian law. Many laws are adhered to for fear of being fined for violation. For example, most Old Colony buy hunting licences because they are usually checked for them at least once during the hunting season. Fishing licences, however, are rarely purchased. Two men were discussing the case of a third Old Colony man who was fined for fishing without a licence. Both men were of the opinion that the fisherman should never have been fined because, in their view, he was "not hurting anything".

On another occasion, I was driving with a young Old Colony man when a grouse stepped onto the road ahead. The young fellow insisted that I shoot the bird despite the fact that the hunting season had not yet opened. He could see no reason for not shooting the bird even though he was fully aware that the season had not opened and despite being fully cognizant of the legal consequences.

Again, fire permits are required in order to burn brush or garbage during the summer season. These permits are issued subject to certain precautions being taken by way of having equipment standing by for possible action against a fire which may run out of control. The necessity of obtaining a permit is resented by the Old Colony though they dare not overlook obtaining a permit for fear of being

detected by the forestry lookout tower. However, I have seen entire stubble fields ignited by permit though none of the regulations concerning the required firefighting equipment were ever adhered to.

In contrast to the Old Colony disregard for conservation laws and certain civil laws, crime in the community is almost non-existent. The exception is petty theft which seems to have erupted with increased mobility brought about by the use of motorized vehicles for transportation. One old man remarked to me concerning the petty theft practised by some Old Colony youths that this action "is a shame to the Old Colony, but it is true that it happens."

Though crime in the community is negligible, many young persons run afoul of the law when they leave the community to reside in the "outside world". As one member of the community noted, "We like to keep our young people in the community. They don't know how to cope with the outside world. A horse that has always been tethered will run wild when he is loosed."

While the principles of criminal law are understandable to the Old Colony of Bluemenort, the intricacies of civil law are not always so lucid. For example, transactions are sometimes made within the community which apparently are not perceived by the Old Colony to be legal matters at all.

Mr. Dyck sold Mr. Redekop eighty acres of a one hundred and sixty acre plot of land. The Peace River Planning Commission which administers Improvement Districts would not approve the sale as the Commission felt that a plot of eighty acres is not sufficiently large to be an economic unit.

Thus, when the sale was legally prevented, it came to light that neither of the men involved had legal title to the land. The property was originally owned by Mr. Bannman. Mr. Bannman sold the land to Mr. Weibe who in a short time sold it back to Mr. Bannman. The quarter section was then sold to Mr. Siemens who in turn sold it to Mr. Dyck. Mr. Dyck subsequently sold eighty acres to Mr. Redekop. Throughout all these sales, no transferral of the deed took place so that Mr. Bannman still held legal title to the total one hundred and sixty acres even though he did not realize his legal position.

A thorough study of government records regarding land titles indicates that the sale of land between members of the community is often transacted without the official transfer of title. When tax assessments are made and billed to the officially registered owner, this person simply passes the bill on to whoever the present (non-legal) owner may be. I know of no case where a registered owner attempted to reclaim land from an unregistered owner.

The Old Colony believe that courts are "worldly" institutions and consequently are reluctant to invoke the legal system of the "greater society" to settle disputes. Such disputes are settled internally through the arbitration of the ministers or bishop as described above.

Schools

Schools have been the prime historical battlefield between Old Colony communities and the "world". As mentioned above, the migrations from Russia to Canada and again from Manitoba to Mexico were largely precipitated by the imposition of government schools

upon the Old Colony communities. In Bluemenort today, the school issue is similarly one of the focal points of conflict with the "greater society".

Many reasons exist for the Old Colony enmity toward government schools. Perhaps the prime reason is that government schooling weakens the continuum of traditional goals, beliefs and values at the vitally important level of the youth of the community. This principle is recognized by both the school authorities and the members of Bluemenort (though the point is articulated very differently by each group). The educational authorities seem to be fully aware of the fact that the government schools provide a highly effective opportunity to introduce change into the community. On the other hand, residents of the settlement understand by experience that the thrust toward increased education is an intrinsic threat to the continuity of the Old Colony life style.

Consequently, on a practical plane, the Old Colony resent compulsory school attendance to the age of sixteen. They reason that learning of the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic is sufficient education for returning to the farm to spend a lifetime cultivating the soil. Schooling should be pursued during the winter only, as children (particularly boys) are needed on the farm from spring planting through fall harvest. Continued education in Junior or Senior High School is at best a waste of time and more probably destructive to the long term interests of the family and total community.

With the recent change in superintendents of the school district, compulsory school attendance has been enforced more than ever before. Historically, the district superintendents attempted to use a "buddy-buddy" approach to encouraging school attendance. The superintendents were ignored by the Old Colony and viewed with utter contempt for their alleged hypocrisy.

The present superintendent, however, has firmly enforced school attendance. Part of the reason for this is that the school district receives a grant for every child registered by September 30 of any given school year. According to one school authority, the year before the new superintendent arrived, the school district forfeited over forty thousand dollars because of late registration. Apparently the new superintendent has sought court injunctions requiring certain families to post bonds. If the children do not attend school and do not have an acceptable excuse, the bond money is automatically forfeited.

These methods of enforcement have evidently been fairly effective in increasing the rate of registration previous to September 30. The Old Colony now realize that if they send the children to register at the beginning of the school term, they are likely to be able to keep the children home to help with harvesting without being severely molested by school authorities. However, any excuse is used to keep the children home until legal action by the school district appears imminent. At the eleventh hour, the children are sent for a few days to ease the pressure and then are kept home again.

A further concern of the people of Bluemenort is that in the government schools, the children of the community are taught by "outsiders". The values of the community are unlikely to be reinforced if the teacher has little understanding of Old Colony culture. All too often, the attitude of the school personnel is openly disdainful of Old Colony heritage and way of life.

In the centralized school, the child leaves for school early in the morning by bus and returns late in the afternoon. The school (situated in the village of LaCrete) is alien territory from the viewpoint of the Old Colony of Bluemenort.

Toward the end of the school term, during the month of June, customarily all those children entering grade one in the following September attend school for a week of orientation. About 5:00 P. M. of the first day of pre-schooler orientation, the school principal was shopping in one of the local general stores. The daily school session had been adjourned for about two hours.

In the midst of shopping, the principal was confronted by a stony-faced, unsmiling Old Colony man who opened the conversation with the terse question, "Where are my children?" The principal, taken quite by surprise, enquired as to what the problem was. Apparently two pre-schoolers who were children of the man had not arrived home on the school bus. Investigation revealed that the children, not being used to the school bus, had gone to a cousin's place to play.

The interesting point of this anecdote is that the father did not bother to try to find the children himself, but had placed the entire blame for the incident upon the school principal. According to the rumors which spread rapidly, this was another "black mark" against the school system.

In many cases, the school is a total enigma as many parents know only that their children are taken away from them daily and are taught in the "English world". One person told me that the Old Colony would not want to move if centralized schooling had not been forced upon the community.

Centralized schooling is a specific issue over which Old Colony feelings are easily aroused. If the residents of Bluemenort may be said to resent the imposition of government schooling, their sentiments concerning centralized schooling may be described as nothing short of hatred. If the government school system must be forced upon the community, why could the children not attend the local country schoolhouses?

At the time when something could have been done to prevent centralized schooling, the Old Colony penchant for factionalism and internal disputes intervened. The school administrators took advantage of the disunity and manipulated the factions in such a way that a centralized school became a reality. One high-ranking administrator remarked to me that centralized schooling could never have been implemented if the community had not been split into multiple factions. Similarly, many of the younger Old Colony men suggested to me that if the old men had not been so stubborn and split into such diverse factions, the community would have fared much better with regard to centralized schooling. Several younger men also pointed out that the Old Colony are taught that active

resistance is wrong. Consequently they could not make a concerted effort to actively oppose the school district.

Another major complaint against the government schools (and this is often cited as a reason for migration) is the "sex education" (usually biology or health and hygiene classes) conducted in the schools. The issue concerning sex education was continually surrounded by rumors reverberating throughout the community.

One Old Colony man claimed to have personally heard advertisements on the radio which broadcast requests for a man and woman who would be willing to have intercourse in front of television cameras. These special programs were allegedly to become part of the curriculum in the LaCrete elementary school.

Many of the younger parents in Bluemenort told me that they did not want to migrate for their own sake, but in order that their children would "have a chance" to grow up without being exposed to the sex education in the schools.

The adult evaluation of the government school system has an effect upon the views and performance of the children. One man explained to me that his fifteen year-old son had "developed a grudge" against the school district. The boy had tried to quit school when he was fifteen in order to become a laborer in High Level. The school superintendent had literally taken the boy off the job and furthermore had pressed the matter to court. The boy was fined, but allowed to remain out of school. The father, on the particular day I was talking with him, was again appearing in

court on behalf of his son. Subsequent to his fine for not attending school, the boy had been arrested and charged with using a 22 calibre rifle to shoot the windows out of the West LaCrete school. In defense of the boy, the father pointed out that in Vancouver and Montreal "even the educated people are tearing the schools apart because they don't like them."*

Another rather interesting incident illustrates the same principle of children being aware of their parent's distaste for the school system.

A grade five biology class was being conducted, the lesson for the day being on snakes, their food, digestion, and body structure. Five boys in the class refused to do an assignment based on the lesson. After being sent to the principal's office, they stated unanimously that the assignment violated their religious principles.

The principal enquired as to what about the assignment was contrary to their beliefs. The boys stated that snakes were always supposed to be killed because they were the incarnation of the Devil or demons. The principal asked if the boys knew why they were not supposed to come in contact with snakes. One boy said that the Bible stated that snakes are the Devil and the other said that the Catechism stated the same thing.

Upon looking up the relevant passages in the Bible and the Catechism, the texts did not say what the boys had thought. Consequently, following discussion, the boys agreed to do the assignment.

The principal sent a note home to each parent to ascertain if there was any objection to the assignment. If there was parental objection, the matter would have been taken up with the Bishop. According to the principal, if the Bishop sustained the objection, the school would have deleted the subject material from the curriculum.

* This was a reference to news reports of the Simon Fraser University student revolt and the computer smashing incident at Sir George Williams University in Montreal.

Several times during fieldwork I specifically enquired about Old Colony beliefs concerning snakes. The unanimous denial of any specific beliefs in this regard indicates that this belief was peculiar only to one family or that perhaps the schoolboys concerned were using their "religious convictions" to their own private advantage.

Not only is there an ideological gulf between the Old Colony and the school system, but the gulf is symbolized poignantly in structural terms. The school teachers and their families live in a housing development provided by the school district. The attention of the visitor to the village of LaCrete is immediately focused upon the noticeable difference between the modern, neatly aligned teacherages as opposed to the remainder of the residences in the town. The island of teacherages has come to symbolize the "outside world" to the Old Colony of Bluemenort.

With the exception of very marginal members of the Old Colony community, social relationships bridging the gap between the world of the teacherage community and the Old Colony settlements are virtually non-existent. A few marginal Old Colony, however, do interact socially with the teachers. One such man (who is in his thirties and can neither read nor write) told me that his children were going to university when they were older so they could get the education that he was denied.

Conversely, those teachers who are attempting at all to gain rapport with the Old Colony communities gravitate toward the marginal members of the community. Acceptance by these marginal persons provides these teachers some visible assurance that they are being integrated into the larger Mennonite community. Thus, in one sense, the relationship between the marginal Old Colony and the teachers in the school housing settlement is mutually exploitative and functions to the social benefit of both groups.

We have seen the imposition of alien schooling upon Bluemenort and have indicated the distrust and resentment manifest by the Old Colony toward the intruding system. At the same time, the job of teaching Old Colony children is often tedious and frustrating. From the viewpoint of the teacher, the typical child from Bluemenort is an "under-achiever". The child enters school probably unable to speak English and leaves school as soon as possible. Often because of absenteeism, he has not maintained educational parity with his English peer and falls several grades behind the child from the "outside world". To the teacher, the parents are not only uncooperative, but are openly subversive to the interests of the school.

Incidence of Disease in Bluemenort

The Old Colony of Bluemenort make extensive use of the government-sponsored health services. The headquarters of the public health nurse for the district is located in LaCrete. According to the

nurses, the Old Colony have no proscriptions against taking advantage of modern medicine except that they sometimes have objections to immunization.

Statistically, the infant mortality rate is not as high per capita as many other areas of Canada, though the birth rate is comparable to the highest in the world. In the two years during which the health nurse had been working in the district, only three infants have died of natural causes. The infant mortality rate has dropped sharply in the last ten years due to the greater accessibility of medical attention. Though I cannot document the point, I suspect the official figures may not be totally accurate as such events are not always reported from the more remote areas. The Old Colony have midwives who serve as part-time specialists. Thus, not all infants are born under the care of a physician from the "greater society".

The official records of the district show the incidence of mental retardation in the community to be unusually low. Only two or three cases are documented in the entire Ft. Vermilion-LaCrete (diversified) Mennonite community. Yet, according to the field data collected, at least five cases may be documented.

The Old Colony demonstrate a great interest in mental illness. The health clinic at LaCrete occasionally sponsors adult education evenings during which various topics are discussed. By far the greatest interest and the largest turnout was for a discussion on mental illness.

The most common illnesses in Bluemenort are rheumatic fever and stomach complaints caused by hyper-tension. The reason for the high incidence of rheumatic fever is unknown despite a major research project conducted about three years ago by a medical research team. Though no definite conclusions were reached, there were some indications that rheumatic fever is indirectly related to the extremely high incidence of heart disease in the community. Death resulting from heart attacks or heart disease is certainly not uncommon in Bluemenort.

Hyper-tension could almost be described as an institutionalized response in Bluemenort. Most people between the ages of forty and fifty years complain about stomach trouble caused by tension. Such tension is undoubtedly related to conflict and factionalism in the community. At any rate, many people visit the health clinic to request tranquilizers, particularly those in the above-mentioned age group.

Post partum depression is common in Bluemenort. Due to rapid consecutive pregnancies, some women in the community have been known to remain in a state of post partum depression for several years. More than one woman in the community has had eleven full-term, single births in ten years.

While faith healing is rarely practised among the Old Colony, a tendency does exist to accept illness as being the judgment of God for some misdemeanor or as being the will of God. This fatal-

istic viewpoint accounts for the tendency among the Old Colony to wait too long before seeking medical attention and then to expect almost instantaneous, magical cures. Paradoxically, from the perspective of the medical personnel, the health services are often abused by individuals coming for treatment of minor or inconsequential problems. Typical also of the "outside" world view is the complaint by the medical personnel that clinic office hours are not observed by the Old Colony.

Part-time specialists called "chiropractors" by the Old Colony actively treat various types of complaints and illnesses. The chiropractors have gained the displeasure of the district health authorities largely because these practitioners make up and dispense their own folk medicine. The medicine is usually a mixture of turpentine and herbal tea. Laboratory analysis of the concoction points out that the "medicine" is highly toxic and while it may be moderately effective in small dosages, it would be lethal in any quantity.

A further problem confronted by the district health authorities is the naive usage of medicine prescribed by the health clinic. One common attitude is that if the prescribed dosage is good, a larger dosage must be better. Similarly, if a certain medicine is good for one person's heart condition, it is sometimes administered for another's stomach pains. At one auction sale, partially consumed bottles of prescribed drugs from the medicine cabinet were being auctioned and purchased by another family.

In general, however, the district health services provide one of the more pleasant and positive contacts between the members of Bluemenort and the "outside world". Old Colony who would be extremely suspicious of any other "outsider" seem to be quite willing to seek the services of a doctor or the local public health nurse.

Missions and the Old Colony

The Old Colony do not missionize and thoroughly resent outside mission endeavors aimed at proselytizing among members of Bluemenort. To the people of Bluemenort, missions are usually very hypocritical. They present an innocuous face to the Old Colony, but ulterior motives constantly lurk behind feigned friendliness. Accounts abound of how missionaries from other Mennonite groups or from evangelical Protestant groups of other persuasions have used various means to capture the attention of the people of Bluemenort and then utilize the occasion for missionizing. The favorite example is that of one missionary who advertised an evening of travelogues. When the crowd gathered in the auditorium (travel has an immense appeal to the Old Colony) very few pictures were forthcoming, but public prayers were offered and non-Old Colony hymnsinging was enjoined. The members of the community who were present at the meeting rapidly spread the news of how they had "been taken by the two faces of the missionary".

The compounding of events such as the one described above simply adds fuel to the flame of Old Colony distrust of "outsiders".

"If you have been bitten several times by one snake," they reason, "why return to be bitten again?" Another common expression applied to relations with "outsiders" is the admonishment to "beware of the snare". In other words, outsiders seem at first sight to be very friendly, but in the end there is always a trap to be caught in and the true motivation for feigned friendliness is exposed.

Undeniably, the overall network of socio-politico inter-relationships between Bluemenort and the greater society has religious overtones. Many of the non-Old Colony living in the vicinity of Bluemenort are highly motivated by a desire to missionize. Often this seems to be the motivating rationale for some school personnel who seek positions with a more or less frontier school district. The fact that school personnel have frequently been synonymous with missionizing to the Old Colony has not expedited Old Colony rapport with the school system. As one young Old Colony man expressed his frustration with the diversified barrage of proselytizing, "What is so wrong with being an Old Colony Mennonite?"

Prejudice and the Old Colony

Bluemenort is both the object and the source of prejudice with regard to ethnic and other minority groups. On one hand, the greater society abounds with stereotypes of and prejudice toward the Old Colony. On the other hand, the Old Colony manifest a distinct distaste for darker skinned persons.

Though the point could not fairly be generalized to include all teachers, the majority of the instances of specific prejudice against the Old Colony emanated from the teacherage community. One teacher's wife asked me if I really thought the Old Colony were intelligent. When I replied in the affirmative she continued, "Then why do they not live like we do? Why do they insist on being backward and ignorant?" She proceeded to support her question with a description of the repulsiveness of an Old Colony funeral which she had witnessed.

On another occasion a teacher attending an Old Colony auction sale mentioned that she had known that an anthropologist was in the district and she wondered where I stayed because she had not seen me in the LaCrete settlement. When I pointed out that I was staying in the homes of the people of Bluemenort, she exclaimed in mixed disgust and incredulity, "Oh, you are staying with them?" Several Old Colony standing within earshot overheard the remark.

The people of Bluemenort are very sensitive toward prejudice directed toward them by outsiders. They are very cognizant that many outsiders consider the Old Colony to be ethnic curiosities. The awareness of the ridicule of the "greater society" has made the people of Bluemenort even more cautious concerning relationships with outsiders.

For example, early in my field research I was allowed to attend the Old Colony church services when in the company of other members of the church. One day, however, I asked the elderly gentleman with

whom I was staying if I might be allowed to attend church without being escorted by a church member. He replied that, in his opinion, this would be acceptable as long as I did not make fun of the Old Colony services. He added as an afterthought that he was sure that I would not be guilty of mockery.

In attempting to determine the rationale for what seemed to be the rather strange response to my question concerning church attendance, the following story was offered by way of explanation.

Years ago in Saskatchewan, an "English" family owned a general store located near an Old Colony settlement. Many Mennonite families dealt at this particular store. One large family of eighteen, the Weibes (my informant's wife was one of the children), was particularly well acquainted with the proprietor. The family was often invited into the back room of the store for coffee and a snack. The proprietor was generally considered to be a friend to the Old Colony community.

One day the store proprietor threw a party to which no Old Colony were invited. The party was designated an "Old Colony" party. All the "English" guests allegedly dressed up as Old Colony and mimicked and ridiculed many aspects of Old Colony culture. When the Mennonite community heard about these events, they boycotted the general store and the owner was forced to move away.

At the same time that Bluemenort is the object of pressure from the "outside world", members of the community demonstrate the same sentiments toward other minority groups. Consequently the social relationships between the Old Colony of Bluemenort and the Indians

and Metis (referred to as "breeds") of the surrounding districts are almost nonexistent.*

Relationships with Other Mennonite Groups

When observations are limited to the level of everyday activities, the relationships between the Old Colony of Bluemenort and other Mennonite groups seem fairly congenial. Neighbors of the distinctive Mennonite denominations co-operate with each other in many economic and even some social activities.

However, beneath the superficial facade of everyday interaction lurks a great amount of latent tension between groups. The friction is rarely blatant but is often manifest by casual remarks or actions. The basic views of the various groups could be adequately generalized by two statements: (1) when true feelings are exposed, the Old Colony view the other Mennonite groups as liberals who have not maintained intact the essential traditions, values and beliefs of the truly Mennonite way; (2) the various non-Old Colony groups view the Old Colony as ignorant, backward, conservative traditionists, stubborn and often worthy only of contempt.

If one were to ask a member of Bluemenort what the difference is between the Old Colony church and the other Mennonite churches, he will inevitably reply, "the other churches believe just about the

* In Canada, however, the members of Bluemenort were not forced to depend upon the native peoples to the extent of this dependency in Bolivia. As a consequence, the native people of the Ft. Vermilion area were usually ignored by the Old Colony. On the other hand, a more tangible demonstration of prejudice was evident in Bolivia where native peoples supplied essential services.

same as we do except for the singing. Their singing has a rhythm." While the point concerning belief is undoubtedly true on a theological plane (a level which is irrelevant to the majority of members of Bluemenort), the perceived meaningful differences between the groups emanate over time through remarks dropped in casual conversations. "The Sommerfelder sit on the wrong sides of the church. Their women sit on the right and their men on the left." The other groups do not dress as conservatively as the Old Colony. They wear the brighter colors upon which the Old Colony frown. Many relatives of a young Old Colony man about to be married would not attend the service as the boy was marrying a Sommerfelder girl in the Sommerfelder church. The Bergthaler are much too worldly and they believe in missionizing. They also sing to the accompaniment of musical instruments and their songs are fast and rhythmic. The devotional fervor of the Holdeman Mennonites creates a very uneasy feeling among the Old Colony. Besides, the Old Colony believe that men should be clean shaven and not wear beards as the Holdeman do. Thus, many traditional practices do set the Old Colony apart from the other Mennonite groups in the larger LaCrete-Ft. Vermilion area.

Other Mennonite groups are highly critical of the Old Colony. Some members of more liberal groups mentioned that in their homes they had been taught to despise the Old Colony. When one person of another Mennonite group found out that I was an anthropologist

interested in the Old Colony, he said, "What do you waste your time with the Old Colony for? They are really very ignorant people. Their language is a hodgepodge of many other languages and so is not pure. So why do you bother with them? The language is not spoken very widely."

The hostility particularly between the Old Colony and the Holdeman Mennonites often emerges at auction sales. Particularly the women from the two groups do not mingle. The problem was heightened by the fact that a Holdeman and an Old Colony auctioneer competed for business in the community. If one group officiated at a certain sale, the other group would often engage in some form of heckling.

The Old Colony auctioneer was in charge of the sale. Early in the morning, the Holdeman bid eighty cents on a pile of junk. The previous bid had been seventy-five cents and the auctioneer was asking one dollar. The Old Colony auctioneer refused to take the Holdeman bid for eighty cents, but insisted on receiving one dollar. This so riled the Holdeman that he stated he would refuse to bid for the remainder of the day. Later, however, when the more valuable items appeared which were of interest to the Holdeman, he relented and placed several bids.

Toward the end of the sale, another Holdeman bid on an old truck frame. The previous bid was fifty-five dollars; the auctioneer was asking fifty-seven and one-half; the Holdeman bid fifty-six. The Old Colony auctioneer would not take the bid.

An animated argument ensued. Eventually, the sides lined up Holdeman against Old Colony. The Holdeman auctioneer publicly rebuked the Old Colony auctioneer for not accepting the fifty-six dollar bid. He pointed out that the most advantageous course

of action would be to go up dollar by dollar if that is what the bidders wanted. When he completed the tirade, the Old Colony auctioneer appealed to the predominantly Old Colony crowd by shrugging his shoulders and replying with scathing sarcasm, "I'm sorry folks, but this is my very first auction and I just have to learn how to do it."

CHAPTER SIX

THE MIGRATION

History of Old Colony Settlement in Bolivia

In order to fully comprehend the significance of certain issues pertaining to the settlement of the community of Bluemenort in Bolivia, certain selected aspects of the history of the Alberta Old Colony should be concisely outlined.

In 1967, the Old Colony community from Worsley, Alberta decided to migrate to Bolivia. True to the Old Colony custom, two representatives of the community were dispatched to Bolivia by the Church in order to locate a suitable site for the new settlement and to negotiate with the Bolivian authorities concerning land purchase and immigration. For some reason which is not readily apparent, the Bishop selected one man from the Worsley community and the companion was a member of the Bluemenort church. These two men were entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out the tasks preparatory to migration. The one specific instruction was that they must find land which was isolated so that the young people did not have ready access to Bolivian towns or cities.

The precise actions of these two agents of the Church are very obscure. Assuredly, they negotiated with the Bolivian government and purchased two thousand (2000) acres of land for fifteen thousand dollars (\$15,000). Also, the concessions arranged with the government

were that the Old Colony were to enjoy in perpetuity (1) freedom of religion, (2) freedom of schooling, and (3) exemption from military service. These privileges were to be applicable only to those persons who continued to reside on Old Colony land. Any person moving to urban centers could not claim to be "Old Colony" with respect to the government agreement.

On the other hand, the reason for the choice of land near San Ignacion (see map on page 131) is unclear. Several informants claim that the agents chose this land because they planned to purchase the surrounding land for speculative purposes. In other words, knowing that the community would ultimately have to spread due to population growth, the agents planned to personally buy the surrounding land and resell to the church at a later date. No direct evidence exists to either prove or disprove this story, largely because the community was a total failure from the beginning.

As a result of the advance work by the two agents of the church, the Worsley community migrated to San Ignacion in 1967. Absolutely no practical preparations had been made. Upon arrival in Santa Cruz, the people were transported to San Ignacion in three dump trucks. The trucks arrived at the settlement site at 3:00 A. M., unloaded the passengers, and returned to Santa Cruz. With the exception of a small quantity of rice they had purchased in Santa Cruz, the group had no food until a supply truck arrived three days later. They had no shelter and the agents had neglected to ascertain if there was any drinking water in the area.

However, tents and "lean-to" shelters were erected for an interim period. Due to lack of proper sanitation, disease (especially dysentery) erupted within a few days. One mother who had been a member of this first group said that everyone had dysentery so badly that it "gurgled up at night while the people slept and they never awakened".

A few of the men managed to summer fallow a small plot of the dry grassland area and attempted to plant traditional Old Colony grain crops. But the land was so poor that at the time of field research, two years after planting, the people claim the land is still black summer fallow.

The people began to realize that the community had no chance of survival on the original settlement site. Thus, new land was purchased in the vicinity of Santa Rosa, a region of tropical rain forest approximately one hundred miles northwest of Santa Cruz. The new acreage is the present site of four traditional Old Colony villages including Bluemenort.

The Bolivian government refused to repurchase the first settlement site near San Ignacion and no indiginous person would be willing to buy the land. Thus, despite the fact that the San Ignacion site has been abandoned, the Bolivian government still assesses annual taxes on the property. At the same time, the new land cost sixty thousand dollars (\$60,000) for fifteen thousand (15,000) acres. When the people from Bluemenort migrated to

Bolivia, then, they went directly to the new land near Santa Rosa and established the new village of Bluemenort.

Three principles which may be derived from this brief historical narrative are extremely important to bear in mind in order to understand the social environment in the Canadian and Bolivian communities of Bluemenort. First, the Old Colony community at Worsley in Alberta had been established as a result of a conservative-liberal split in the Ft. Vermilion-LaCrete Old Colony churches. The "liberals" stayed in the Ft. Vermilion area while the "conservatives" moved to Worsley. With the migration to Bolivia of the people from Bluemenort, a part of these factions came together again, if not in the same village, at least in the same overall community.

Second, those from Bluemenort had not suffered through the fiasco at San Ignacion and consequently were viewed by the Worsley group as not having "paid the price" for establishing a traditional community after God's will. This provided the basis for much factionalism and disputing in the new community.

Third, the people from Bluemenort were wealthy in comparison to those who had suffered through San Ignacion. Thus, those from the original Bolivian settlement openly regarded themselves as "true Old Colony" because of their poverty. At the same time, they decried the wealth of the people from Bluemenort. They could not become too adamant in their condemnation, however, as the people from Bluemenort represented an influx of cash into the community. Regardless of their personal feelings, the people who had survived San Ignacion were penniless and had to maintain some measure of favor

with those from Bluemenort in order to receive even menial jobs to earn some money.

The Prelude to Migration

In Bluemenort in Alberta in the summer and fall of 1969, a constellation of factors merged to present a concerted force toward migration. Such factors included: (1) the complex of relationships between Bluemenort and the "outside world"; (2) tense interpersonal relationships, conflict and factionalism, and the growth of dissonance within the community; (3) pressures from some church leaders encouraging migration; (4) the Worsley Old Colony in Bolivia constantly urging friends and relatives in Bluemenort to migrate.

First, the encroaching "outside world" was a source of concern to many residents of Bluemenort. During the period of field research prior to the Bolivian migration, informants suggested several reasons which combined to eventually precipitate the move. Foremost among these reasons was the advent of provincially controlled schooling and specifically the imposition of centralized schooling and "sex education".

At least six male informants independently suggested that making a living by farming was nearly impossible at that time. They believed the economics of raising cash crops was rapidly deteriorating. Several elderly informants were appalled at the increasing frequency of inter-marriage between young Old Colony individuals and those who were non-

Old Colony. The very conservative elements in the community seemed almost paranoid concerning the increasing acceptance of modern technology. Use of such technological items was not consistent with tradition.

The increasing number of defections from Bluemenort also was a source of alarm to the community. Consequently, this issue was used as a major rationale for migration. Defections were increasing for several reasons. Due to mission activity, at least four or five families in Bluemenort had been converted in recent years to other sectarian persuasions. While these families did not necessarily move from the settlement, they ceased participation in the affairs of the Bluemenort congregation.

The impact of defections because of higher education was also just beginning to be felt in Bluemenort. By 1969, the first large classes of students graduated from the central high school in LaCrete. For the first time, a few of these graduates were Old Colony. But regardless of the level of schooling involved, the fact was that the provincially controlled school system was actively (and often knowingly) subversive to the traditional way of life in Bluemenort and was directly responsible for increased defection among the youth.

One further impetus to migration was often cited by informants. This involved a rumor concerning "the new money". The rumor indicated that at some indefinite point of time in the near future, new currency would be issued in Canada. The new currency would not be distributed to individuals belonging to minority groups unless such persons would

renege upon commitment to their system of beliefs. In other words, the Old Colony who were true to their traditional beliefs would be unable to participate in the economic system of the country. This rumor was a source of serious concern to many members of the community and for several months during the spring and fall of 1969 was a constant topic of discussion and speculation. The proponents of migration argued that if the "new money" would prevent participation in economic enterprises, Bolivia, being a warm country, would be more suitable for Bluemenort to operate on the basis of a subsistence economy.

Second, several factors within the community of Bluemenort provided incentive for migration (see page 118). These included tense interpersonal relationships, conflict and factionalism on a group level, and the overall growth of dissonance within the community.

The problem of increasing "worldliness" became a dominant theme in Bluemenort immediately prior to migration. Worldliness is very difficult to define in Old Colony terms, but in general, includes all departures from what is viewed by members of the community as the traditional Old Colony way of life. The constant invasion of "worldliness" could be objectively observed in the use of cars, the changing styles of clothing, the gradual disappearance of the Old Colony traditional politico-religious structure, the increasing usage of English by the young and by the defection of the young people from the community.

TABLE ONE. Land Holdings and Migration

Land Holdings

	Up to $\frac{1}{2}$ section	Over $\frac{1}{2}$ section	
Migration			
Stay	26 79% 58%	7 21% 64%	33
Move	19 82% 42%	4 18% 36%	23
	45	11	

Chi Square .13

Degrees of Freedom 1

Level of Significance .50

Age of Family Head

	Age 20 - 40	Age 41 +	
Migration			
Stay	12 36% 52%	21 64% 64%	33
Move	11 48% 48%	12 52% 36%	23
	23	33	

Chi Square .75

Degrees of Freedom 1

Level of Significance .50

The tables above demonstrate that there is no significant correlation between Land Holdings and migration or age of head of family and migration.

But perhaps more important than any other observable factor relating to worldliness, the lack of brotherly love and mutual aid typical of the traditional ideal of the Old Colony life style was singled out by the older members of the community as being the result of a pervasive "worldliness". A spirit of individual competition and capitalism pertaining mainly to economic affairs was choking mutual aid and brotherly love. Those who became proponents of migration emphatically proclaimed that the establishment of a new community in Bolivia, patterned after their vision of the traditional Old Colony way of life, would eradicate the destructive forces of individual economic competition and reinstate a pattern of mutual aid and brotherly love.

By August 1969, Bluemenort was divided into two primary factions, one supporting a possible move to Bolivia and the other largely disinterested in moving from Northern Alberta. Serious differences of opinion arose and often split families into factions advocating or opposing migration. Indeed, disputes attained such intensity, that in at least one case, brothers attacked one another physically to support differing viewpoints. Interpersonal tensions reached new peaks of intensity during this period.

At the same time, dissonance generated by the obvious discrepancy between the observable involvement in the affairs of the "outside world" and the idealized traditional Old Colony way of

life added to the overall tension in the community. Everyday conversations increasingly reflected the mounting dissonance created by the difference between what was and what ought to have been. One informant expressed the problem as follows:

Going to Bolivia will let us have the opportunity of ridding the community of worldly things. In Bolivia we will use horses and wagons again as it was in the early days here. We can have our own (Low German) schools again and our children will have a chance to grow up in our way, speaking Low German instead of English.

From one perspective, Old Colony history recurrently demonstrates that the typical response of the church community to secular encroachment is migration. In such a context, migration has traditionally served to purge the church of members (including ministers and Bishops) unwilling to disinvolve themselves with the affairs of the "outside world". Concomitantly, migration has been one of the selective mechanisms whereby the church could accomplish renewed isolation which mitigated for the persistence of the Old Colony life style. Migration has been a historically employed mechanism for divesting the Old Colony community of "progressive" (and therefore disruptive) elements and encouraging cohesion among those committed to perpetuating the traditional way of life.

Third, an additional source of dissonance arose internally within Bluemenort and added to the tension, factionalism, and general interpersonal conflict. Despite the fact that the ministers and Bishop

actively began to encourage migration to divest the community of worldly involvement and return to traditional ways "proper for our people", some of the ministers were not planning to move personally to Bolivia. At first, this was merely a speculative point, until one of the senior ministers purchased land from a church member who was liquidating assets to go to Bolivia.

Speculation then began and rumors spread to the effect that despite the urging of the Bishop for migration of church members, he personally did not intend to move from northern Alberta. Some individuals began to complain that he was not leading the people in an acceptable manner and that he was not an example to the church. With regard to the "two faces" of the Bishop, one informant tried to explain that

while the Catholics claim that the Pope is infallible, the Bible says it is the church which is infallible. As the Bishop is thus a fallible man to the Old Colony, the church must be right about moving to Bolivia, because most people want to do so. Perhaps, therefore, we have the wrong Bishop.

Needless to say, the man expressing this opinion must have been in a state of intense anxiety, as he stated his viewpoint in an attitude of apprehension and guilt for daring to voice such misgivings about the head of the church.

The fourth direct stimulus to migration emanated from the members of the Worsley community who were in Bolivia. Frequent letters arrived in Bluemenort extolling the virtues of life in Bolivia. All the

positive dreams and hopes espoused by the members of Bluemenort who wished to migrate were confirmed by these letters. Only one man wrote letters containing anything negative about life in the Bolivian villages. These negations were totally overlooked by those who favored migration.

The Messenger of Truth

By the end of August 1969, feeling concerning moving to Bolivia was very intense in Bluemenort. Rumors of all kinds relating to impending doom in Canada and escape to Bolivia were rampant in the community. The most persistent rumor of this nature still revolved around the "new money".

On August 31, 1969, one of the members of the Bluemenort congregation returned from High Level (where he worked on a more or less permanent basis) with a small newspaper entitled "The Messenger of Truth". The interesting point concerning this event was that the paper was the official publication of The Church of God in Christ, Mennonite of Newton, Kansas, otherwise known to the Old Colony as the Holdeman Mennonites.

"The Messenger of Truth" contained the following article.

THE SUPER PLOT

So many shocking, even unbelievable things are taking place that it is almost beyond our own reasoning. We have just recently received one of the most frightening, yet prophetic, factual news release I have seen for some time. You must read this over and then over again. This is right to the minute news.

In a recent issue of the magazine, "Die Botschaft Vom Reich" in the article, "One Step Nearer", appears the following: "The publisher of the magazine 'Fog et Rai' received word from a Christian employed at the United Nations Organization . . . 'Plans are worked out to dissolve the UNO to make way for a 'World Tribunal' which will seize all possessions and all savings and all bank deposits. Every man, woman, and child will receive a certain amount of money and a number. This money is already available and is deposited in a bank just waiting for distribution. Everyone with a number will be employed either in the Administrative, the Commerce, the Industrial or the Agricultural Branch. This project and this plan provide for a total unification of the church and state, and also provide for a single form of worship. The appointed day for all people and for all nations will be on Sunday. The number received by the people will promise the right to buy and sell.

At the end of the statement, a Christian arose and asked the speaker, 'What happens to the minorities who will not accept this plan?' The Christian was answered, 'Their number will be cancelled with a black line, and they will be deprived the right to buy and sell, and will thus be forced to destruction.'"

Read Revelation 13:17 and then look and rejoice. "And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name."

EDITOR'S NOTE: The above unbelievable, but nevertheless documented information was recently released in a special statement by P. A. Del Valle, president of the Defenders of the American Constitution. Mr. Del Valle is a Lieutenant General in the United States Army, Ret. This information was translated from the July 1967 edition of the "Licht und Leben" by the branch publishing house, Cleveland, Ohio, of the German Branch of the Assemblies of God. Selected by Earl Litwiller (The Messenger of Truth, Vol. 68, No. 17, August 13, 1969).

The timely arrival of this article triggered a response bordering on panic. Within four or five days, a number of families from Bluemenort made the decision to migrate. Throughout the fall, a series of auction sales were held at which the migrating families liquidated their assets in preparation for the move. By the end of September, about forty-five persons had departed for South America. During October, about seventy-five persons followed. In November, thirty-five or forty more persons left for Bolivia. By the end of the year, a total of approximately one hundred and seventy-five of the three hundred residents in Bluemenort in Alberta had migrated. During 1970, about thirty more persons would follow.

After the arrival of "The Messenger of Truth" in Bluemenort, only one event cast brief doubt on the wisdom of migration. Near the end of September, news reached Bluemenort indirectly through the mass media that the government of Bolivia had been overthrown and replaced by a military government.

When the residents of Bluemenort heard the news, they literally refused to take the report seriously. The response of one informant was typical of nearly everyone who had made a commitment to migrate:

Oh well, most of the South American countries are run by military governments, aren't they? And they have never touched the farmers at all! The government of Bolivia needs farmers badly to develop the country and who are better people to open up the country than the Old Colony? Look what we have done for Northern Alberta.

The problem of the overthrow of the Bolivian government was thus relegated to the status of irrelevant trivia. However, about two weeks later (three or four days before the first large group left Alberta for Bolivia) a letter arrived from a member of the Worsley group in Bolivia stating emphatically that conditions in Bolivia were significantly worse because of the revolution, but the writer declined to elaborate in specific terms.

This news, emanating from the Old Colony in Bolivia, shook the confidence of two of the younger family heads who were leaders of the migration. At that point, they confidentially expressed their readiness to abandon plans for migration. If they had done so, however, they would have "lost face" in the eyes of the remainder of the community. With some misgivings, then, they secretly deposited a substantial amount of cash in bank accounts in High Level so that in case of an emergency, they could pay their fare back to Canada.

Preparation for Migration

The liquidation of personal assets was the focal point of preparation for the move to Bolivia. In many cases, families could only afford to move to South America if they could generate sufficient cash through the sale of their belongings. Preparation, then, emphasized turning assets into cash to purchase plane tickets. Little thought was given to problems of subsistence in Bolivia.

Land, buildings, machinery and personal items were offered for sale in a series of auctions beginning in September 1969. For the next couple of months, there were auction sales literally every day (except Sunday) either in Bluemenort or in other Old Colony communities in the LaCrete-Ft. Vermilion area. The immediate economic effect of the abundance of goods on the market was to greatly reduce the marketable value of all assets. As a result, those moving to Bolivia sold farms and other possessions for a fraction of their normal market value.* Toward the end of the string of sales preceding migration, a number of persons found themselves unable to dispose of land and major assets. This was the result of the heavy drain on cash due to earlier sales. Consequently, those who could not sell land, houses or machinery spent time trying to rent these items on a crop-sharing basis.

The only other serious preparation for the move took the form of shipping personal belongings or machinery to Bolivia. Several farm tractors, assorted equipment including harrows, seed drills, disks, a combine and a D - 8 caterpillar tractor were sent to Bolivia. Also, household items such as wood stoves and sewing machines (treadle operated) were commonly shipped to the new community. Upon

* One of the interesting side effects of the great number of auctions was that persons who were staying in Canada purchased a great volume of items at greatly depressed prices. Also, it seems ironic that those moving to Bolivia depended on those staying in Canada to purchase auctioned goods and so provide the cash needed for migration.

establishing residence in Bolivia, however, many of the items accompanying the migrants proved to be unadaptable to life in the new settlement (e.g. wood stoves, most farm machinery).

Bluemennort Moves to Bolivia

Possibly one of the most interesting features of the migration per se is the distinctive social organization which emanated in preparation for, and during, the journey. The primary unique element of social organization associated with the move was the change in community leadership which was necessitated by the move. Few of the traditional politico-religious leaders were capable of planning for the journey or of exerting reliable leadership during the trip from Northern Alberta to Bolivia.

As a result, those persons who would normally be referred to as marginal members of the community assumed roles of responsibility and leadership during the period immediately preceding and including migration. Such individuals were persons who had extensive experience in relationships with the "outside world" for an extended period of time and had some knowledge of life away from Bluemenort as well as facility in speaking English.

Thus, individuals who in the normal chain of events in Bluemenort were regarded by members of the community as marginal suddenly assumed roles of leadership and the accompanying status and prestige. They functioned as intermediaries between migrating members of the

community and travel agents in making international travel plans.

The problem of shipping personal belongings and farm equipment and machinery was an issue with which the intermediaries had to deal.

During the trip, the intermediaries helped the migrating groups through airline ticket agencies, customs and immigration offices. They became the initial spokesmen for the community in relations with all Bolivian authorities. After the members of the community became settled in their new village site, however, the functional leadership of these marginal individuals was replaced by traditional politico-religious functionaries.

About one hundred and seventy of the nearly two hundred persons who eventually moved from Bluemenort in Alberta to Bolivia assumed residence in the new village of Bluemenort. The remainder settled in one of the three existing communities established by the Worsley group.

Those members of the Bluemenort congregation who made the decision to move to Bolivia tended to ridicule the segment of the community which remained in Alberta. Many aspersions were cast concerning the "worldliness" of the group remaining in Canada and particularly concerning the lack of commitment exhibited by this group toward traditional ideals. The non-migrating group was viewed as being "outside of God's will". Several migrating members

prophesied doom for those remaining in Canada and by the time the migrants departed for Bolivia, interpersonal tensions, conflict and vindictiveness was common between the two groups.

From the perspective of the group remaining in Canada, the migrants were ignorant traditionalists who did not recognize the benefits of living in Canada. They were seen as reactionaries who could never be satisfied. One informant who did not migrate said:

Sure, things may not be totally good in Canada. But I would not give up my land and sell my belongings to go to a place where nobody knows if they can even make a living. These people (the migrants) are ignorant. Some of the old people have children in Mexico, British Honduras, Alberta, Manitoba and now in Bolivia. They are scattered all over the earth. And still they (the migrants) do not know what they want. They will not settle down until there are no more regions of the world that will have them.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BLUEMENORT IN BOLIVIA

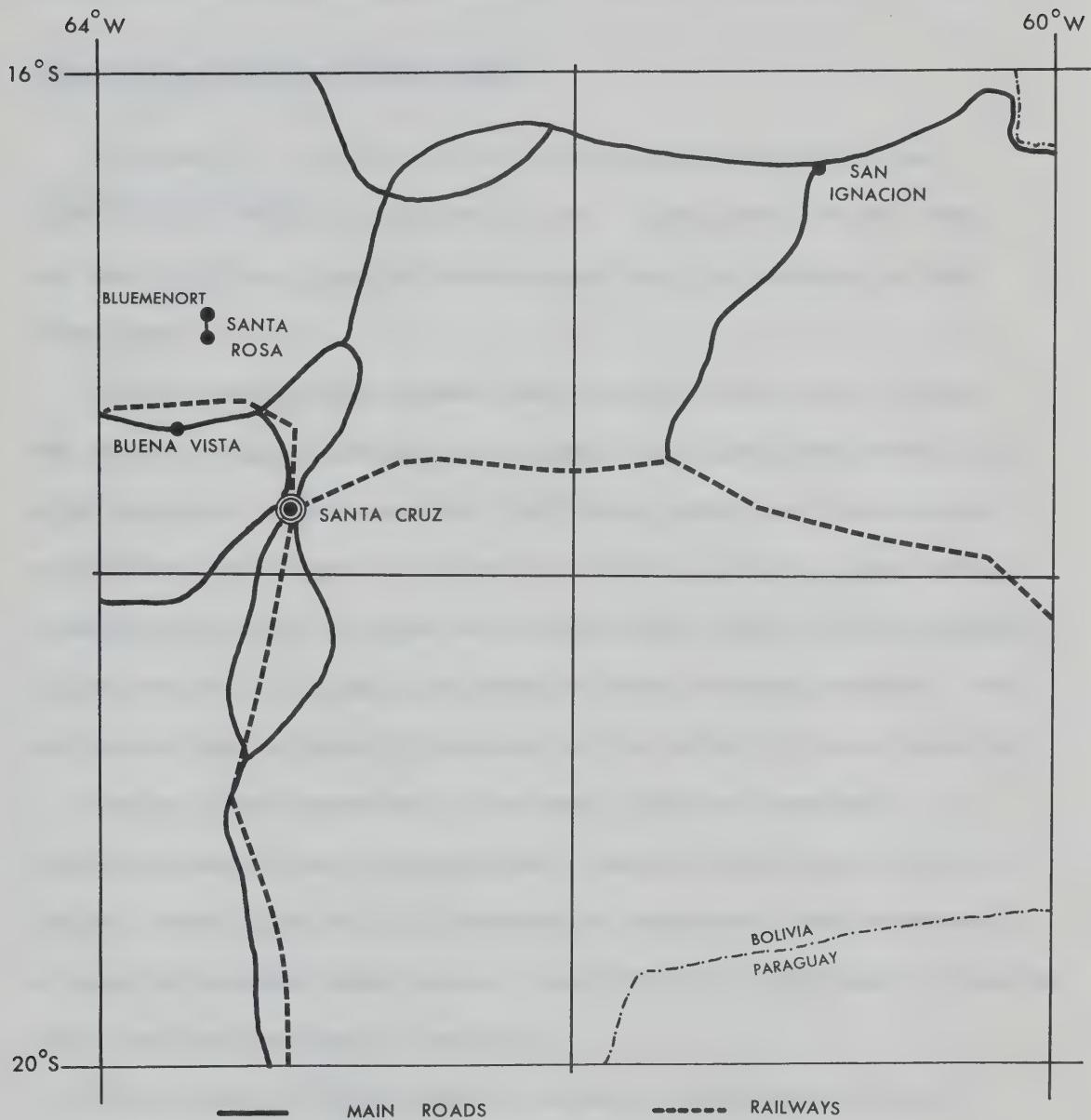
Location

The new village of Bluemenort in Bolivia is situated approximately one hundred miles northwest of Santa Cruz, in the east-central part of Bolivia. About six kilometres north of the indigenous village of Santa Rosa is the southern boundary of the roughly fifteen thousand acres (six thousand hectares) belonging collectively to four Old Colony villages located on this larger piece of land. On the southern extremity of this area, the village of Bluemenort occupies about eleven hundred acres. Three and a half kilometres north of Bluemenort are the remaining Old Colony villages of Gruntahl, Neuonlage and Rhineland (see map on page 134).

Access to Bluemenort from Santa Cruz is possible via one route only. About sixty miles of very narrow, paved highway leads from Santa Cruz to Buena Vista. A one-lane dirt road which is passable only during dry weather connects Buena Vista with Santa Rosa, a distance of about thirty-five miles. A wagon trail and foot path lead from Santa Rosa to Bluemenort and further connects with the other three Old Colony Villages. Between Buena Vista and Bluemenort, all rivers must be forded.

Transportation of passengers between Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa is by means of a bus which operates daily during dry weather. Goods

SANTA CRUZ AND VICINITY



are moved via the recently completed narrow gauge railway which links Santa Rosa with Santa Cruz. The train, however, services this rail line only once per week.

Topography, Climate and Vegetation

Bluemenort is situated about seven hundred feet above sea level on land which is relatively flat. Rivers and streams cross-cut the Old Colony land and marshes and bogs are frequent in low-lying areas.

Thick tropical rain forest covers most of the region, though the forest changes gradually to sparsely treed grassland about fifty miles southeast of Bluemenort. The forest, which has been cleared to provide a settlement site for the village, contains dense under-growth and a canopy of vines and foliage which admits little sunlight. A wide variety of animal life inhabits these forested regions. Also, the entire area is heavily infested with a myriad of insect species.

The soil in Bluemenort is extremely rich and capable of supporting many types of vegetation. However, particularly during the wet season, the soil is saturated with moisture and consequently is poor for growing grain crops, a feat which the Old Colony attempted when they first arrived in Bolivia.

The climate in this region of Bolivia is extremely hot and humid. During the summer, the temperature often reaches 120 F. and seldom falls below 85 F. even during the night. The humidity

hovers constantly at 100%. Each afternoon, a brief rain shower dumps a large volume of water onto the community and during the height of the rainy season, rains may last for several consecutive days. On the other hand, the winter dry season can often be very cool with heavy winds.

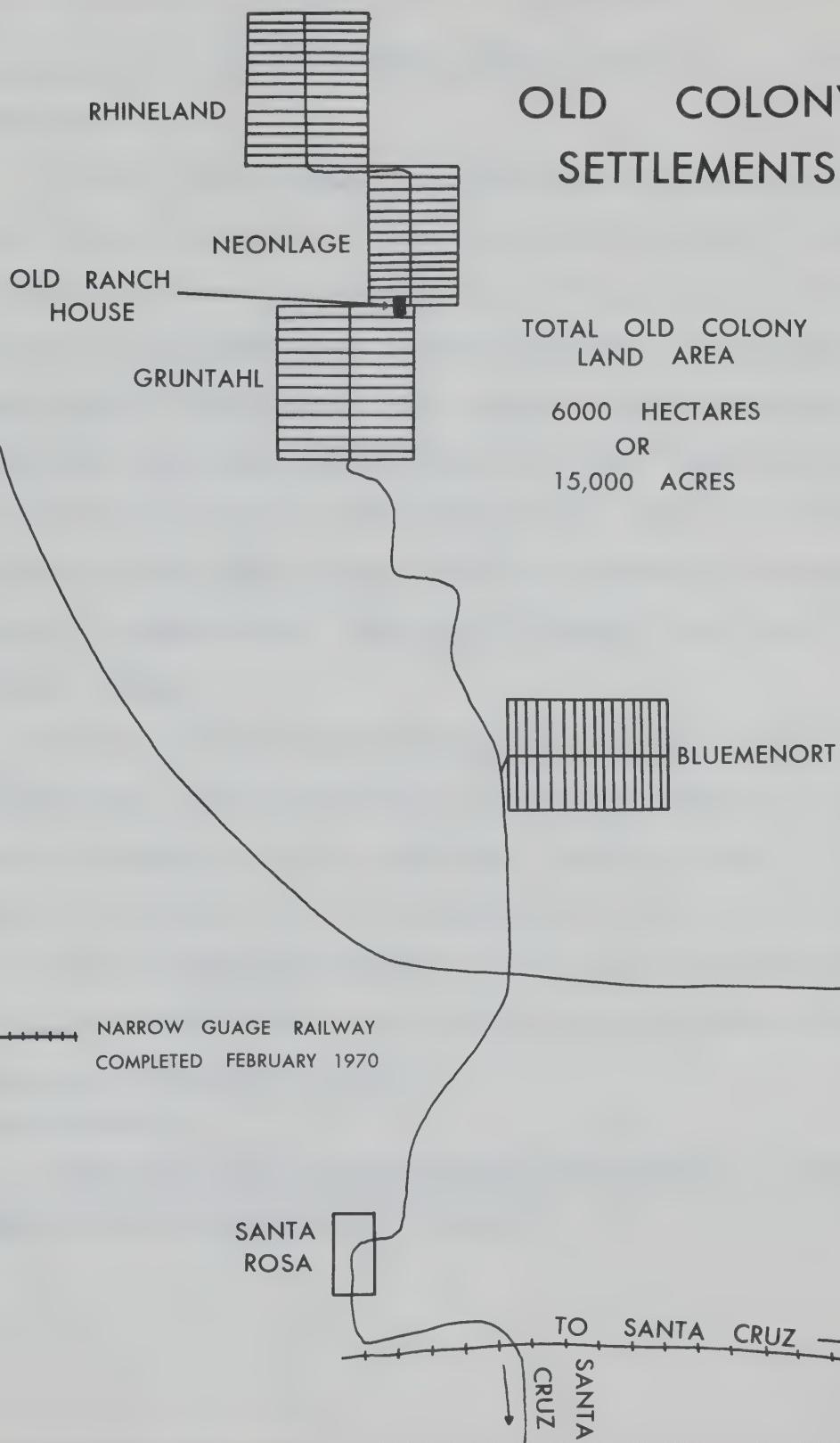
Settlement Patterns

The Bolivian community of Bluemenort has only one point of access to the "outside world". This is the point at the west end of the settlement where the main road through the village joins the trail linking the Old Colony communities with Santa Rosa. At the east end of Bluemenort, the main village road terminates at the community pasture.

Bluemenort is planned in such a way that every individually owned parcel of land in the village has equal frontage on the main village road (see village map on page 136). That is, each lot is one hundred and twenty-five metres from east to west (this distance is road frontage) and one thousand metres from north to south. Thus, the land belonging to any given individual covers a total area of 12.5 hectares or roughly thirty-one acres.

Close to the geographical center of the village, two lots have been set aside. The one on the north side of the road is for the church which has yet to be constructed. Immediately opposite, on the south side of the road, the land is reserved for the school. At the time of this writing, the school building has been

OLD COLONY SETTLEMENTS



constructed, but the job of making the furniture has not yet been completed.

In spite of the traditional village layout instituted in the new village, settlement in Bluemenort in Bolivia has been somewhat similar to the Canadian community in one respect, namely, that related families have tended to group together.* At the same time, five families (representing thirty-six persons) from Bluemenort moved into the other three villages in Bolivia. Similarly, two young single men from the other villages have been given land in Bluemenort (lots #29 and #30). The total population of Bluemenort presently stands at 149. There are 576 persons in all four Old Colony villages.

The total cleared land in Bluemenort approximates ninety acres. Of this total, about seventy acres are used as pasture for livestock and the remainder is used to grow small vegetable gardens. By far the most prevalent crop at the present time is maize. No cash crops are grown, as grains do not survive in the climate and the people presently possess no knowledge of how to cultivate products which are native to tropical climates.

* The map on page 136 demonstrates this principle. The symbols for family groupings are similar to those used in the map on page depicting settlement patterns in Canada.

VILLAGE KINSHIP MAP

(D1) - H1a	1	18	N1b - L1c
	2	19	W1 - R1d
F2 - R1c	3	20	? - Z1a
* - D1c	4	21	Z1b - *
A1b - B1d	5	22	R1a - *
B1e - *	6	23	D1d
D1b - B1f	7	24	B1 - *
H1e - A3c	8	25	B1a - A2
A2b - *	9	26	B1h - A2d
A2 - *	10	27	A2a - B1c
	11	28	
N1 - (*) N1c - *	12	29	
N1a - A1d	13	30	
F2a - A1c	14	31	A1 - *
	15		FOOTPATH
F3 - *	16		
U1 - F3a	17		

Technology

As has been recurrently expressed, one of the major objectives which the members of Bluemenort hoped to attain by moving to Bolivia was to rid the group of "worldly" technology. Consequently, one of the first rules laid down by the brouderschaft was that "tractors are only to be used for business, not for visiting or personal transportation and no cars or trucks are to enter the community". In other words, all personal transportation was to be by horse and wagon.

All the technology conducive to growing cash (grain) crops was shipped from Canada to the new settlement in Bolivia. In fact, Bluemenort probably had the most modern array of prairie farming equipment in the entire nation (see the map on page 143 for a comprehensive survey of major technological items imported from Canada).

The Old Colony thinking concerning the technological consequences of migration seems fairly clear. Personal motorized transport would be eliminated, but cash crops would be grown in Bolivia. No measures were taken to ban modern agricultural technology because the members of Bluemenort never intended to revert to a traditional subsistence economy. In practice, even the regulation concerning the acceptable usage of tractors was more honored in the breach than in adherence. Anyone wishing to visit by tractor simply had to find the appropriate economic excuse to justify the trip.

However, when compared with the position of the group on the subject of technology prior to leaving Canada, the views of several members of the Bolivian community were quite reversed. Some of those who in Canada had professed to be most anxious to ban cars and trucks lamented that "here in Bolivia we can't even own a truck". Even though electric lights were not common in the Canadian Bluemenort (they were officially forbidden), several remarks were made by a number of different persons sarcastically referring to the "bright electric lights" which were actually kerosene wick lanterns.

Another interesting phenomenon was that the members of Bluemenort accepted some items of technology in Bolivia which were even prohibited in Canada. The most blatant example is that most members of the settlement in Bolivia purchased kerosene fridges to preserve food. In Canada, refrigerators had been officially banned by the church as an item of "worldly" technology.

Probably the most explicit statement of the views of the members of Bluemenort toward traditional and modern technology was offered in the context of discussing the Old Colony who migrated from Mexico to Bolivia. The Mexican Old Colony raise crops by "slash and burn" techniques as do the native Bolivians. The members of Bluemenort fully anticipated grain farming. However, the observation made by one man from Bluemenort suggests his disgust when he discovered upon arrival in Bolivia that grain farming in the jungle was impossible. He said that it is impossible for the Canadians to make a living

the way the Mexicans do. When I asked him why, he replied, "because they (the Mexican Old Colony) do not use machinery and nobody here (in Bluemenort) wants to farm like that. We cannot farm with our hands like the Mexicans."

A further issue directly related to technology concerns the problem of Old Colony adaptation to the unfamiliar Bolivian environment. Few, if any, members of the community had given any forethought to technological problems which would be encountered in Bolivia. As a consequence, the technological items and methods employed by the people of Bluemenort were very ill-suited to Bolivia. Several examples will serve to demonstrate the magnitude of the problem.

In Canada, the members of Bluemenort had cleared vast areas of farmland by bulldozer and prepared the land for cultivation by use of breaking plows, disks, harrows, and other such technology pulled by farm tractors. Even rootpicking was accomplished by use of a power operated root picker. Having no foreknowledge of the environment in Bolivia, the people assumed that similar technology and methods would serve the same purpose in the new settlement of Bluemenort.

However, the attempts made to clear jungle in this way proved impossible. To begin, the bulldozer recurrently became so entangled in vines and assorted other undergrowth that it was effectively immobilized. The minimal area that was cleared by bulldozer could be worked with a breaking plow only with the greatest difficulty

because of the dense network of roots and also due to the water saturated soil. When the land was cleared, the jungle grew back so quickly that maintenance of the cleared area was impossible. In about five months only thirty-five acres had been cleared by this method.

The men of Bluemenort are familiar only with constructing buildings made from wood. Consequently, despite the horrendous heat in this region of Bolivia, all houses were constructed from rough mahogany boards and had roofs made of corrugated tin sheathing. Instead of being suited to the climate as were the adobe and thatch huts of the indigenous population, these Mennonite houses were unbearably hot. In the heat of the day, when the sun shone directly upon the roofs, the indoor temperature often was in excess of 130 F. Many men claim that the roofing had to be done in the late evening, because during the day, the tin became too hot to handle.

Several households had shipped cast iron wood stoves to Bolivia for cooking and baking. Instead of using open outdoor fires or brick ovens for cooking as did the native peoples, the Old Colony placed the stoves inside the wooden frame houses exactly as they had done in Canada. The heat retention of these stoves added to the unbearable interior heat of the houses of Bluemenort.

The approach to sanitation in the Bolivian community was identical to that used in Canada. A pit was dug and covered with a wooden "outhouse". The thing that the people never realized was that unlike the sandy soil in northern Alberta, the Bolivian soil was highly saturated with moisture. Consequently, the ground did

not absorb refuse of any kind and the latrine pits filled in direct proportion to the waste material deposited. Then, in the torrential rains of the wet season, the latrine pits overflowed daily with water which subsequently spread human waste throughout the village.

The above examples are only a few of the many which could demonstrate the technological problems which the community faced in Bolivia. The point which should be emphasized is that those who eventually returned to Canada were either unable or unwilling to surrender their familiar technology in favor of the less complex and unmechanized technology conducive to raising subsistence crops by "slash and burn" techniques.

Economics

If the "new money" scare provided the members of Bluemenort with a fantasized economic rationale for migrating to Bolivia, the serious economic problems which rapidly arose in the new settlement were the source of an immanently more practical and realistic concern.

From the viewpoint of virtually all the members of Bluemenort, the foremost problem confronting the community in Bolivia was the lack of a source of cash to maintain the economy. The villagers were aware that the sole flow of cash was from Bluemenort to the "outside world". The obvious result would be that the cash reserves in Bluemenort would rapidly disappear and the community would be literally forced to revert to a subsistence economy.

Several factors fostered this problem. First, the people of Bluemenort had no knowledge of how to grow products in the new and totally different environment (see page 145). Furthermore, the attention of the migrants was so intensely focussed upon the ideological rationale for leaving Canada that they never seriously anticipated any problems of economics or subsistence in Bolivia. One factor which contributed significantly to this attitude was that correspondence from the other Bolivian villages gave the prospective migrants in Bluemenort every assurance that "everything grows here. You sow the seed at night and in the morning the plant shows above the ground."

Second, even if cash crops could have been grown, the community was sufficiently isolated that transportation to market was impossible.

Third, production and marketing of cash crops would have required the co-operation of the majority of the men in Bluemenort and the pervasive factionalism which cross-cut the settlement was a decided impediment to widespread unity on any level.

Fourth, the fact was that no markets for agricultural products really existed in eastern Bolivia as the vast majority of the populace is rural and cultivates subsistence crops.

The realization that the establishment of a cash economy was a remote possibility indeed seemed to divide Bluemenort into three camps. The first group consisted of those who were too poor to

DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC GOODS

Machinery	Livestock		Machinery	Livestock
		1 18	T W C D P	
		2 19		\$\$
	@	3 20		
	x x #	4 21	T D C P	
	xxxx @ c #	5 22	T W	
	x # \$	6 23		@
	xxxx @ c #	7 24	T W Y P D welder wagon factory	\$ # cc @ xx
WW T C H G R P	@@@@ \$\$\$ #/ xx ccc	8 25	T W tractor shared with 9, 26, 27	## cc xx
Y W T tractor shared with 25, 26, 27	xxx d cc #/\$	9 26	T tractor shared with 9, 25, 27	# c xx
W W T P P B D	@@@ \$\$\$ xxxx #/#/#/ &&&&& cc cc	10 27	T W tractor shared with 9, 25, 27	\$ # xxxx cc
CHURCH		11 28	SCHOOL	*
W T		12 29		
WWW D8-cat.	@	13 30		
C W T P H \$1000 in tools		14	@ - horse	B - bush hog
		15	# - cow (mixed)	C - cultivator
		16	\$ - cow (pure)	D - disk
W	#/#/#/#/#/#/ #/#/ @@@@ @ @@	17	c - calf	G - grass cutter
	x		*	H - harrows
			x - 10 chickens	P - plow
			& - pig	R - drill
			d - 5 ducks	T - tractor
				W - wagon
				Y - buggy

finance a return trip to Canada. Persons in this category had no alternative but to attempt to establish some type of subsistence economy as a means of survival. Approximately fifty persons (men, women and children) in six families would fall in this category.

The second group includes those with sufficient wealth to last more or less indefinitely without need of further income. The thing which must be remembered relative to the second group is that the money which was in circulation in the village tended to gravitate toward the foci of wealth. The number of persons in this group is very small (approximately fifteen persons from three families) and consisted mainly of the most influential minister (who also was the most wealthy man in Bluemenort) and a few members of his family.

The third group includes those members of the community who still retained sufficient funds to return to Canada, but who comitantly realized that their cash resources were rapidly dwindling. Most families in this category had raised eight to twelve thousand dollars by liquidating their assets in Canada. Plane fare to Bolivia averaged two thousand to twenty-five hundred dollars per family. Of five family heads who were asked, the average amount spent per family in Bolivia was twenty-five hundred dollars in five months. This amount includes expenditures for subsistence goods as well as for establishment of a homestead in Bolivia. The prospect of no cash economy placed this group in the position of having to decide whether to return to Canada while they had sufficient resources or to remain

in Bolivia and rapidly be reduced to the level of a truly subsistence economy. About ninety per cent of the eighty-five persons in this category returned to Canada.

The map on page 143 very effectively indicates the distribution of wealth in Bluemenort. One of the important points to note is the correlation of wealth and kinship lines. A further interesting observation is that the conspicuous display of wealth shifted from the ownership of land in Canada to possession of machinery and livestock in Bolivia. Further discussion of economics may be based upon an analysis of production, distribution and consumption of goods.

(1) Production. Production in Bluemenort in Bolivia was almost non-existent. Most subsistence items were purchased from the native villagers in Santa Rosa. The entire settlement was literally devoid of cash crops of any kind.

In total, various individuals managed to cultivate about twenty-five acres of rice for personal use. The first crop of nearly six acres matured near the end of March 1970.

Two or three persons in the community grew corn for personal use. The total area devoted to this crop did not exceed five acres.

The land purchased by the church for establishment of the four villages included an old "ranch house" and a small orchard. When the Old Colony settled on the new property, they decided that the trees would be viewed as communal property for a period of five years.

However, so much jealousy existed over the fruit that the trees were virtually ravaged by the community long before the fruit was ripe. One minister even sent his children to guard the trees with sticks so that the crop might be preserved. Nevertheless, the entire crop was destroyed before the fruit was sufficiently mature to eat.

Several individuals keep a small number of livestock, though at the present time, very few animals are owned in Bluemenort. Two or three persons also raise chickens for personal use.

(2) Distribution. As most goods which are produced in Bluemenort are intended for private family consumption, there is no major issue regarding distribution of goods.

The only exception involves the irregular slaughter of cattle and distribution of meat throughout all four villages. Individual households may purchase quantities of meat from the owner of the slaughtered animal. Most families have purchased kerosene refrigerators for preservation of foodstuffs.

Ideally, the slaughter of an animal is to operate on the principle of a "meat ring". Under this arrangement, each owner is offered a regular opportunity to butcher an animal and sell the meat throughout the villages. However, a lack of co-operation between individuals has thus far prevented effective establishment of a "meat ring".

(3) Consumption. As suggested above, most consumer goods are purchased directly from native retailers in the indigenous villages at the periphery of the Old Colony settlements. Members purchased cloth to make their own clothes and similarly bought most foodstuffs including the flour (imported from Argentina) which they used for baking. The only food item not purchased in quantity was meat. Those who were too poor to purchase goods from retail outlets were forced to subsist on home-grown corn and any other vegetables they may have been able to grow.

The most noticeable difference in consumer goods used by the Old Colony in Bolivia as compared with Alberta was in foodstuffs. Potatoes, which were the mainstay of Old Colony diet in Alberta, were used less frequently in Bolivia where the standard substitute was taro.

But the most amazing phenomenon in relation to consumption in Bolivia was the universal refusal of the Old Colony to eat pork. In Alberta, pork was almost the sole meat in the Old Colony diet. Rarely had they eaten beef. However, in Bolivia, informants agreed unanimously that "Bolivian pigs are so dirty, I would never eat the meat". The accepted substitute was beef.

Bluemenort in the Greater Society

The involvement and interaction of Bluemenort with the "greater society" may be discussed on three analytically distinct levels:

- (1) Bluemenort in the context of the larger Old Colony community including the four Bolivian villages: (2) Bluemenort in relation to other Mennonite groups in Bolivia (including the Mexican Old Colony); (3) Bluemenort vis a vis the native rural and urban population.

The relationships existing between Bluemenort and the other three Old Colony villages near Santa Rosa were very complex and often appeared to be somewhat contradictory. On one hand, the four villages were bound together in a politico-religious sense as the clergy (a total of six ministers in all four villages) were jointly responsible for theocratic leadership of all the villages. The most powerful and influential of the ministers resided in Bluemenort and was easily the most wealthy individual in the village. At the same time, this particular clergyman maintained an extremely conservative image which was the basis of his appeal to the San Ignacion faction.

On the other hand, the villages could be viewed as factions, the conflicts being based upon several rationales. The foremost basis of factionalism was, of course, economics. As explained above, Bluemenort was one of the focal points of wealth in the overall community. The influence of the people of Bluemenort in the affairs of the overall Old Colony community was based on economic superiority. The opposing factions from the other three villages appealed to religious traditionalism as the source of their influence.

Again, factionalism could be viewed from the perspective of "conservatism" and "liberalism". For example, conflict erupted between the communities on the basis of "conservative" claims that only "wick" coal oil lamps could be used as opposed to the "liberal"

contention that "mantle" coal oil lamps were permissible. In all such disputes, Bluemenort emerged as the basically "liberal" faction.

Apart from the spheres of economics and politico-religious organization, there was relatively little interaction between villages. As in earlier years in more traditional settlements, visiting between villages was infrequent. When such visiting occurred, the trip would take about two days because of the distances involved and the reversion to horse and buggy as a means of transport. Also, in Bolivia, few of the families from Bluemenort had close relations in any of the other villages. This was undoubtedly a further reason for minimal social contact between villages.

At least three distinct types of Mennonite settlements exist in Bolivia. The Mennonite Central Committee has a mission station in Santa Cruz and has district representatives in outlying areas. The Sommerfelter have a settlement about forty miles south of Santa Cruz. And, of course, the Old Colony have several settlements in Bolivia.

The Old Colony, however, may be divided into two groups:
(1) the Canadian Old Colony who have settled near Santa Rosa;
(2) the Mexican Old Colony who have two or three settlements in the region around Santa Cruz.

When Bluemenort is viewed in relation to the other Mennonite communities in Bolivia, two very noteworthy points are immediately

observable. First, the Old Colony do not interact with the Mennonite Central Committee if such interaction can be avoided. Second, the members of Bluemenort maintain much closer relations with the Canadian Sommerfelter who are settled in Bolivia than they do with the Mexican Old Colony. The sense of Mexican-Canadian cultural differences is apparently greater than the bond of being Old Colony.

The Mexican Old Colony are viewed with some measure of derision by the members of Bluemenort. Their distinctive garb (blue denim "overalls" for men and straw sun hats worn over the traditional kerchief for women) is viewed as a curiosity by the Canadian Old Colony. Despite all the protestations in Canada by the members of Bluemenort concerning the fact that English was replacing "Low German" as the language of the Canadian Old Colony, three members of the village specifically mentioned to me that one thing which bothered them about the Mexicans (Old Colony) was that they spoke Spanish and could not converse in English. If a person from Bluemenort went to Santa Cruz and met a Mexican Old Colony on the street, they very rarely acknowledged each other. However, to meet a Canadian Sommerfelter inevitably occasioned a pause to chat and exchange news.

When the economic crisis in Bluemenort reached a peak and the schulten decided to send a delegation to another settlement to observe economic activities which may have been able to be duplicated in Bluemenort, the delegation was twice sent to the Sommerfelter

rather than to the Mexican Old Colony. In this regard, the inhabitants of Bluemenort were more willing to accept the potential establishment of a cheese factory (as had the Sommerfelter) than to entertain the possibility of non-mechanized horticulture.

Two important points emanate from the above discussion. First, insofar as the members of Bluemenort were concerned, apparently Canadian identity was more meaningful than acceptance of Old Colony who participated in another cultural heritage. Second, the propensity toward mutually exclusive relationships which existed between the Mexican and Canadian Old Colony serves to indicate to some extent the degree to which participation in the "greater society" in Canada had influenced the Old Colony socio-cultural system.

The most important effect of the Mennonite community upon the local scene is in the realm of economics. One native man told me that since the arrival of the Old Colony, the sale of building products and livestock had increased sharply. The proprietor of the grocery store in Santa Rosa claimed that her business had multiplied three times since the Old Colony had come to the area. The increased trade had allowed her to expand the size of her store to greater than twice its original size.

One American from a Methodist agricultural mission located some fifty miles from Bluemenort pointed out that the Old Colony were paying grossly inflated prices for livestock because they did not know how to bargain with the Bolivians. As the precedent of high

prices had been established, however, livestock could not be purchased at a lower price. And the Old Colony still were unaware that the prices were high because the cost of purchasing livestock was still lower than in Canada.

The native response to the Old Colony was one of cautious reservation. One man from Santa Rosa stated that the Old Colony did not treat the people of Santa Rosa too badly. However, he had heard that the Mennonites believed that all men were equals, but he and his friends had noticed that most Old Colony considered themselves better than the native population. Nevertheless, he concluded by remarking that, except for economic interaction, the Mennonites stayed in their settlement and the residents of Santa Rosa remained in their community. Absolutely no social relationships existed between the two groups.

From the perspective of the people of Bluemenort, the native population is inherently inferior. When native workers are hired for the most undesirable tasks, they are paid about one quarter of what a "white man" would receive. The workers are not allowed to enter the Old Colony homes and are forced to eat outside of the house. When one Old Colony man invited native workers into his home to eat with the rest of the family, the community of Bluemenort was indignant and strongly reproved the "erring member".

Again, a bus on which about ten Old Colony were travelling also carried approximately forty native persons. When the bus approached a river where the bridge was washed out, the driver

asked all the men to get out and walk across the bridge girder while the bus forded the stream. All the native men promptly left the bus, but the Old Colony refused to leave.

Such examples of Old Colony contempt for native peoples are common. Both Mennonites and the people of Santa Rosa suggest from time to time that relations between the two groups have deteriorated since the Old Colony originally settled in the area. Yet, both groups have reasons to maintain working relations with each other. The economic gain derived from Bluemenort is of definite importance to the residents of Santa Rosa. At the same time, the people of Bluemenort are mindful of the bad relationships between the Old Colony and native peoples in Mexico and are anxious that similar problems do not erupt in Bolivia.

Bluemenort, then, relies very heavily on the native community for various goods and services. Most families from Bluemenort were purchasing the bulk of their foodstuffs from the store in Santa Rosa rather than growing their own food. No "chiropractors" had migrated to Bolivia, so the Old Colony were forced to seek the advice of a native herbalist to cope with the unfamiliar health problems peculiar to tropical regions. (As a point of interest, the one piece of advice given to me by the residents of Santa Rosa was that the Old Colony should not rely on the services of the herbalist, but should travel to Santa Cruz and seek trained medical aid.)

One of the decidedly negative issues relating to Bluemenort interaction with the "greater society" in Bolivia has been the free

access to alcoholic beverages and drugs. Bolivia sets no age limit on purchases of alcohol, nor are prescriptions needed for drugs. As a consequence, penicillin (particularly) is purchased in relatively large quantities and is used by the members of Bluemenort as a "cure-all" for a wide variety of illnesses. At the same time, the four Old Colony villages (including Bluemenort) are encountering serious difficulties with drunkenness among the ten to fifteen year-olds. The novelty of liquor being available to anyone regardless of age has precipitated pronounced abuse of alcohol by young people in this age bracket.

Politico-Religious Structure

The move to Bolivia, then, did provide for the establishment of a new village similar in structure to the settlement depicted by idealized tradition. The foundation of the new community was the institution of the old style village layout which was conducive to the revival of traditional politico-religious organization. Each of the positions in the traditional theocratic structure was created and filled.

Spatial separation from "the world" allowed the unobstructed pursuit of a traditional life style. Indeed, the high degree of isolation attained in Bolivia was somewhat disturbing, particularly to the men in Bluemenort. A large part of the problem centered on

the economic difficulties generated by isolation. At the same time, the men in the new community had been accustomed to the settlement pattern in Canada where each family owned a large tract of land. In Canada, men could always drive to a neighbor's place to chat if they became bored with work, or if they felt the need to "get away from it all". Often the neighbors were not Old Colony. In Bolivia, however, men found themselves limited to small tracts of land and social interaction was confined to the village. In a very real sense, freedom of movement had been curtailed by the creation of a traditional village.

The revised village structure also greatly enhanced the practical power of the religious functionaries in the community. In Canada, deviant behavior could very easily be "covered up" and sanctioning mechanisms were largely ineffective. However, in the new (traditional) community, sanctioning mechanisms were vastly improved. The "ban" could be invoked with authority, and excommunication meant serious shunning. Dunnedau again became a weekly occurrence and, as a result, deviance in the congregation was regularly confronted by religious authorities. Punishment was quickly forthcoming from the council of ministers.

The migration had the intended effect of transforming politico-religious structure in Bluemenort. Traditional politico-religious organization became a reality. However, instead of fulfilling the Utopian dreams of the migrants, the new traditional village was a shock to many individuals.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONFLICT AND FACTIONALISM IN BOLIVIA

The Problems

Conflict and factionalism erupted in Bolivia immediately upon the arrival of the Bluemenort immigrants in the new southern community. While interpersonal strife was rampant, three major divisions cross-cut the community.

First, conflict flared between the members of Bluemenort and the residents of the Worsley communities. This division was further provoked in that the head minister over all four Old Colony villages was from Bluemenort, but sided with the Worsley communities against the more recent arrivals from Canada.

Second, economically based factionalism was a pervasive factor in Bluemenort. The community was divided between those who were relatively affluent and those who had almost nothing. The latter group portrayed themselves as the "religious elite" and made a claim to status, prestige, and leadership in the community on the basis of a religious rationale. The lines of these factions were drawn in such a way, then, as to oppose the "religious elite" against the "economic elite".

Third, within a very few months of arrival, dissent in the community had reached sufficient intensity to generate a movement advocating a return migration to Canada. This split the community into groups which engaged in perhaps the most violent conflict in

Bluemenort. Those who favored returning to Canada were all from Bluemenort and all relatively affluent.

By the beginning of February 1970 when I arrived in Bluemenort in Bolivia, many individuals had already begun to idealize anything Canadian even though little had been said to that point concerning returning to Canada. The men in Bluemenort asked for Canadian cigarettes and remarked how much they tasted like home. One man from one of the villages belonging to the Worsley group saw a Canadian five dollar bill in my possession and exclaimed, "Now there is real money". Nearly all the adults who were at all dissatisfied with Bolivia asked for something from Canada--even a piece of "English" newspaper.

Those who wished to remain in Bolivia had exhausted their economic resources and could not afford to return to Canada. The few exceptions to this pattern included two or three families of fairly extensive wealth (such as the head minister, who wished to become Bishop of the Bolivian Old Colony communities, and in a short time succeeded in leading the communities to officially sever ties with the Canadian Bishop and elect him as the new Bolivian Bishop). These families had vested interest in terms of leadership, status and economics to remain in Bolivia.

The basic verbalized sources of contention between the pro-Bolivia and pro-Canada groups were fourfold. First, the Bluemenort faction which was disenchanted with Bolivia accused the pro-Bolivian faction of writing dishonest letters to Bluemenort in Canada, urging

members of the Canadian community to migrate to Bolivia. When Bluemenort migrated to Bolivia, the members found that the religious leaders in the Worsley groups in Bolivia had passed an edict that nothing negative could be written to Canada about Bolivia. The members of the Worsley community thus actively attempted to lure migrants from Bluemenort in Canada to Bolivia.

Even the earliest migrants from Bluemenort adopted similar tactics in encouraging their kin and friends to migrate to Bolivia. One such example was a young man whose father migrated at a relatively early date. The father wrote to his son and encouraged migration.

The land will grow anything. All the equipment is here to work the land. Don't bring much, because you can buy everything here that you could in Canada.

When the young man arrived, he found that the land would not grow anything with which he was familiar; one could not buy the same variety of goods as in Canada; his father would not lend him any equipment without being paid inflated prices for rental. The young man and his wife were so bitter, they vowed that if they could ever get back to Canada, they would "forget this Mennonite business".

Second, the pro-Canada faction labelled the pro-Bolivia group as "money grabbers" who had lured the members of Bluemenort to Bolivia mainly for the influx of money which was represented by the migrants. Some informants even claimed that the Church had cheated them out of money. One man stated that the Church owed him nine hundred pesos for work he had done, but the religious leaders refused to pay him.

Third, the pro-Bolivia "religious elite" charged that the pro-Canada faction in Bluemenort had been ruined by increased worldliness in Canada and consequently had apostasized from the "true tradition of the fathers".

The fourth (and most serious) source of controversy was the decision of some members of Bluemenort to return to Canada. This decision was initially made by three or four families and then the battle raged between groups as the two factions vied for support in the community.

In order to fully comprehend the context for the conflict and factionalism in Bluemenort in the spring of 1970, we must explore the events which led to renewed dissonance experienced by those who ultimately advocated returning to Canada. The following discussion, then, illustrates that instead of dissonance being reduced by the move to Bolivia, an increasing number of individuals experienced a greater degree of dissonance in Bolivia than they had known in Canada. The intensified dissonance in Bolivia motivated over half of the members of Bluemenort in Bolivia to return to Canada.

The Roots of Dissonance

The data have demonstrated that the movement of Old Colony from Bluemenort in Canada to the new village in Bolivia was motivated largely by the dissonance created by the encroachment of the outside world upon the idealized traditional values of the Old Colony community. When the idealized traditional values were operationalized in Bolivia, and some

members of the community disliked the new order, dissonance sharply increased for these individuals. A variety of factors contributed to this revitalized dissonance.

As recurrently illustrated, the fact that "there is no way to make any money here" was the economic basis of dissonance. Before the move to Bolivia, the new land was viewed as the solution to economic problems in Canada. In every way, Bolivia had turned out to be an economic disaster.

In an economic context, the ideal of greater community co-operation particularly in certain aspects of labor and mutual aid was held very dear to some persons before they left Canada. However, with the exception of some work done for the church, there was virtually no co-operation in any way between members of the community.

Despite verbal allegiance to the principle of migration before the move to Bolivia, several informants found that they missed the technological conveniences which were purged from Bluemenort by migration. Three or four men specifically decried the regulation forbidding the use of cars and trucks. Even though few persons had used electric lights in Canada, three men lighting a coal oil lamp one evening made several sarcastic remarks about the "electric light" being too bright.

Four men complained to me about the lack of privacy offered by the physical layout of the new traditional village. All these men had lived their entire lives outside the traditional villages and found that in Bolivia they had "a longing for some open farm land" to maintain individual rights and privacy. One informant complained that in Canada he could live on his own quarter section of land and be relatively

invisible to his neighbours. "But here in Bolivia, I get up in the morning and six families can watch me as soon as I open my door". Parents further complained that it was impossible to keep the children at home in the new village. In Canada, the children were forced to play on their own farm because distances were too great to facilitate visiting. But in the new Bolivian village, even small children could easily visit nearby homes to play with other children. Adults claimed they never knew where the children were in the village.

Nearly everyone in Bluemenort experienced some elements of time-space disorientation in Bolivia. Many individuals complained that "the heavens are upside down and all the stars are in the wrong place" or again, "it seems that the sun rises in the west and sets in the east". "When Christmas came, there was no snow and it was terribly hot. It did not feel like Christmas. It did not feel like home".

The excessive heat in Bolivia was labelled as the cause of a variety of problems. The men in Bluemenort found their work day reduced to three or four hours at best. They could not function for longer periods of time in the unbearable heat. On the other hand, women complained of lethargy produced by the heat and stated that they did not feel like doing any housework. And most adults agreed that the heat had changed the behaviour of the children, causing the youngsters to be more irritable.

Bolivia uses the metric system for weights and measures. The members of Bluemenort do not accept this system except in dealing with the natives. In everyday conversation, money is in dollars

(estimated at ten Bolivian pesos to the dollar, whereas the actual rate of exchange is twelve Bolivian pesos to the U. S. dollar); distance is in miles, feet and inches; weight is in pounds and ounces.

In Canada, the Old Colony used the Centigrade scale to measure temperature. Several times in Canada, members of Bluemenort had drawn my attention specifically to the fact that their system of measuring temperature was distinctive from the "English" (Fahrenheit) system. In Bolivia, the thermometers used were still Centigrade, but in everyday usage the people took great pains to estimate the Centigrade readings in Fahrenheit degrees.

The subject of the "new money" was never discussed in Bolivia. The issue seemed to have been dropped upon leaving Canada. Instead, considerable anxiety was produced in Bluemenort over the requirement of the Bolivian government that all persons staying in Bolivia longer than three months receive an identification card with the picture of the bearer, fingerprints and an identification number across the chest. The "carnet" was something that was entirely unanticipated by the Old Colony moving to Bolivia.

Possibly the single most intense area for dissonance, however, was the perceptual incongruity which gradually erupted in the area of world view. The members of Bluemenort had moved to Bolivia ostensibly to revitalize a sense of traditional community. But when the physical community structure was established, this way of life was oppressive

to a number of people in Bluemenort. Dissonance seemed to arise from the contradiction in values between the actualized traditional ideal and the personal values of members of the community--personal values which increasingly proved to be similar to those of the "greater society" in Canada.

These contradictions appeared first in specific instances such as those outlined in the examples cited above. However, time generated a more generalized restatement of values and ultimately of world view.

Initially one informant lamented that "the Old Colony had room for only one type of person--the farmer. The Old Colony do not consider individuality a unique ability".

Two other men stated that they should have taken the advice of one of the members of the community who stayed in Canada. "We should have listened when he said that changing countries would not change men, but it is what is in the heart that counts. We have sure learned our lesson. We should not listen to the way others want us to live from now on, but we should do what we feel is right".

Another informant stated that in the new village "you can fight and stab your neighbour in the back, run him down or whatever you want and nobody will chastise. But break one of their (the Church's) little rules and you've had it".

The ultimate statement of these values took place when one man found part of an old copy of "The Western Producer" packed in his belongings. This tattered remnant contained an article which he passed

from household to household among the faction which favored returning to Canada. All those who read or heard the article agreed that the author described life as it should be as opposed to the way life was in the new Bluemenort. Following is the text of the article.

MEDITATION

A Weekly Sermonette by Colin Douglas

"He that is spiritual judgeth all things, and he himself is judged by no man, for who hath known, the mind of the Lord, that he should instruct him"--1 Cor. 2:15, 16.

There are times when some of us expect other persons to follow our ideas of how they should live their lives. And we are often disappointed and disillusioned when things don't work out our way.

We must remember always that each person has his own mind and soul, and lives his life according to his own inner light. If we are to understand other persons and have happy relationships with them, we must be willing to accept them as they are--and not as we would have them to be.

The way to be happy and at peace in our human relationships is to give other persons the same freedom of expression and the same freedom of action that we want for ourselves. In this attitude of mind and heart, we find that most persons are interesting and enjoyable as they already are.

We develop an appreciation of the distinctive and individual traits of character that different persons possess. And we are free from the emotional tension that comes when we try to make other persons conform to our own ideas, standards and patterns.

Every person is an individual ... every person is a child of God ... every person is equally beloved by God, one of His creations. We cannot remold one of God's creations. Instead, we must bless these children of God and radiate only love

and understanding to them, and in that way we shall be expressing our love and appreciation of our Father.

"Beloved, let us love one another; for love is God"--
1 Cor. 4:7.

In practice, then, the notion of community in the context of traditional Old Colony values did not find favor with many members of Bluemenort. They resented the lack of privacy, the organization of a community based on the "replication of uniformity" (Wallace 1963:261), the rigors of personal obligation and responsibility to the community as a whole and especially the sanctions invoked against those who chose not to conform to the rigid standards of the theocracy.

Black and White Images of Canada

Attempts to reduce dissonance again to a tolerable level created the pro-Bolivia faction which advocated remaining in Bolivia and the pro-Canada group which favored returning to Canada. Certain relationships and interaction between these two groups is discussed above. However, the intensity of the conflict between the factions reached a peak when the first three or four families publicly announced their decision to return to Canada.

The announcement produced immediate retaliation by the pro-Bolivia faction. The clergy summoned the offenders to Dunnedau and after unsuccessfully urging them to change their minds, invoked shunning against the group. This measure was relatively ineffective as the renegades simply were forced to consolidate for mutual fellowship.

The clergy then decreed stringent economic sanctions. The cost of meat sold after an animal was slaughtered in the community was to be doubled for those planning a return to Canada. One man planning to return was in another Old Colony village where a tractor and wagon were being loaded with lumber for Bluemenort. The man in question asked if he could put two or three boards on the wagon. The driver agreed, but would not let the man ride. The man walked back to Bluemenort and arrived before the wagonload of lumber.

When the lumber was delivered, the driver enquired of the man whether he still intended to return to Canada. When the man answered affirmatively, the driver stated that the charge for delivery of the three boards would be ten pesos. He further pointed out that if the man were not returning to Canada, there would have been no charge at all. The driver also stated that this policy had been initiated by the clergy.

Several persons from the pro-Canada faction were told by the pro-Bolivia group that if they left for Canada, God would cause their planes to crash. One father told his daughter and son-in-law that he personally hoped their plane would crash if they left for Canada. He further claimed that if they died in this manner, they would go "straight to hell".

Rumors were also started by the pro-Bolivia group to dissuade individuals planning to return to Canada. Three examples are as follows:

- (a) Canada has been taken over by hippies;
- (b) There is rising inflation in Canada;
- (c) Canada has undergone a revolution and is now a military dictatorship.

Sunday after Sunday, the ministers preached against returning to Canada. One such sermon was based on Matt. 8:22-27.* A parallel was drawn between those "of little faith" in the Biblical passage and those who wished to return to Canada. Canada was likened to Sodom and Gomorrah. The minister explained that the Old Colony were God's chosen people just as were the children of Israel. As the chosen ones of God, the Old Colony were obligated to be totally separate from the rest of the world. The sermon ended with a condemnation of education in Canada. Christ's disciples were depicted as farmers with little or no education.

Thus, by the end of April 1970, about eighty-five of the original migrants had returned to Canada. Whereas they had moved to Bolivia with a sense of singleness of purpose and the hope of a cohesive

* But Jesus said unto him, Follow me; and let the dead bury their dead. And when he was entered into a ship, his disciples followed him. And, behold, there arose a great tempest in the sea, insomuch that the ship was covered with the waves: but he was asleep. And his disciples came to him, and woke him, saying, Lord save us: we perish. And he saith unto them, Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith? Then he arose, and rebuked the winds and the sea; and there was a great calm. But the men marvelled, saying, What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him! (Matthew 8:22-27, Authorized Version)

community, they left as individuals returning to Canada to pursue their personal interests and reassume places in the "greater society". Some chose to move directly to the periphery of the Old Colony community of Bluemenort in Canada. Others went back to the heart of the old community. But every individual who returned to Canada had opted for acceptance of change and rejection of multiple aspects of "the tradition of the fathers".

CHAPTER NINE

RETURN TO CANADA

Preparations

For the second time in less than a year, those persons who decided to return to Canada faced the problem of disposing of their major assets. As a result of experience gained in moving to Bolivia, none of those returning to Canada attempted to ship any large items back to Canada.* All major assets were liquidated in Bolivia.

The matter was somewhat complicated in that church leaders, in an attempt to discourage a return migration to Canada, officially forbade individuals remaining in Bolivia to purchase goods from those planning to move back to Canada. Furthermore, since financial resources were being taxed to the limit for most persons staying in Bolivia, most assets had to be liquidated for a fraction of their real value. At this point, even the church leaders could not turn their backs on a bargain. Consequently, they rescinded the edict against purchasing goods from the pro-Canada group. An additional result of this sequence of events was the increased resentment of the pro-Canada faction directed toward the pro-Bolivia church leaders. The prospective returnees felt that they had been cheated twice by having to sell assets in Canada at low prices and then having to do the same again in order to leave Bolivia.

* Despite being shipped before the original migrants left Canada for Bolivia, not all personal belongings had arrived in the new settlement. As those persons returning to Canada were very anxious to leave Bolivia, these personal belongings were sold (pending arrival) to persons remaining in Bolivia.

A few of the returning members of Bluemenort were able to arrange with persons staying in Bolivia to trade items which the pro-Bolivia group had been unable to sell in Canada for Bolivian assets belonging to the returning group. Thus, in one case, a house in Bluemenort in Canada belonging to a man staying in Bolivia was swapped for a house in Bluemenort in Bolivia belonging to an individual returning to Canada. In such a case, both individuals realized significant practical economic gain. However, such events were certainly exceptional.

In one or two cases, individuals returning to Canada had been unable to sell their farms before moving to Bolivia. This proved to be fortunate as they had a specific place to which they could return. One elderly man who found himself in this situation, however, incurred the wrath of some of his children who had sold all their Canadian possessions to move to Bolivia.

The old man now boasts how smart he was not to have sold his house and farm in Canada so now he has something to go back to. But we sold everything when he encouraged us to come to Bolivia. Now he has not been hurt badly financially, but we have lost nearly everything. And you can bet he won't assist us financially to return to Canada.

The only specific preparations for returning to Canada were disposal of major personal assets and purchasing airplane tickets for the flight home. With the exception of one man who wrote ahead to Canada and secured a job with a previous employer, no special arrangements were made for renewed residence in Canada. Most persons planned to visit friends and relatives for a period of time before deciding what course of action to

pursue. Whereas the migration to Bolivia had been in large groups, the return to Canada involved one or two families moving at one time.

A Problem of Pride

The most serious practical problem confronting those returning to Canada was the "loss of face" they would suffer in doing so. Before moving to Bolivia, they had showered scorn upon those who had elected to remain in Canada. They had spoken very freely and forcefully concerning the establishment of a new village in Bolivia--a village patterned after their perception of the traditional ideal. And in deciding to return to Canada, all individuals belonging to the pro-Canada faction fully realized that such a return constituted an admission that they had been wrong. The prospect of facing kin and neighbors, who not many months before had been denounced as "worldly" and "unfaithful to tradition", was devastating indeed.

Similarly, the newly-generated factionalism and conflict in Bolivia split families and friends who a few months previously had been united in a common cause. In many ways, the individuals involved in the conflict seemed to be confused, frustrated and bewildered at the rapid shift in allegiances on the parts of almost all persons concerned.

Ultimately, however, those who were returning to Canada settled on at least two rationalizations which apparently helped to avoid a "loss of face" in relation to friends and kin who had never migrated to Bolivia. Several individuals began to refer to the sojourn in Bolivia as a "winter holiday". As one informant explained, "We can just call the past five

months a vacation. It was nice to travel and see another part of the world. It was even good to visit friends down here. But now I'm getting tired of Bolivia and it is time to go back home."

A more important rationale was the claim of the returnees that the new community in Bolivia did not resemble the ideal traditional community of brotherly love that was the anticipated result of migration to Bolivia. The pro-Bolivia group was depicted as being an assortment of "back-biters" who sacrificed brotherly love for their own selfish interest. Instead of increasing Old Colony freedom to live their own way of life, Bluemenort in Bolivia was described as a repressive community where power was wielded by a select few. In general, then, those individuals who returned to Canada painted a very dark picture of Old Colony life in Bolivia. Such a rationalization was accepted by most non-migrants in Canada as further proof of their earlier wisdom in not joining in the original migration to South America.

The Realignment of Allegiances

During April and May 1970, approximately eighty-five of the original one hundred and fifty migrants returned to Canada. The first three or four families to return from Bolivia did not immediately resettle in Bluemenort in Alberta. These families spent two to four months visiting friends and relatives in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Southern Alberta. During this period, the men searched for jobs and opportunities for resettlement. By July 1970, however, all persons returning from Bolivia had established residence in the LaCrete-Ft.

Vermilion area. More specifically, all but three families eventually moved back to Bluemenort.

An interesting sequence of events followed. From Bluemenort in Bolivia came word that three families who were most adamantly in favor of remaining in Bolivia, and who consequently had opposed the initial group which returned to Canada, had decided to return to Canada. Included in this group was the man who had told his daughter and son-in-law that he hoped the plane which transported them to Canada would crash.

Then, in Bluemenort in Canada, two families announced their decision to move to Bolivia. As in the case of the group who had moved south nearly a year earlier, these families held auction sales to dispose of their major assets and then left Canada. The data suggest that in the case of the last three families moving from Bolivia to Canada, as well as in the instance of the two families moving to Bolivia about a year after the original major movement to South America, the rationale behind the realignment may have been kinship ties.*

The Rationalization of Change

Within a few months of resettlement in Bluemenort in Canada, several significant changes were observable in the way life was conducted after

* Notice on the kinship map on page 136 that most families who returned to Canada from Bolivia did so as an entire name group (e.g. name group N, group B, etc.). The exception (name group A) realigned on the basis of family factions. A3 moved belatedly to Bolivia after the return migration had taken place. A3 aligned himself with brother A2 against A1 and his children. D1a also moved to Bolivia belatedly in order to be near relatives who were remaining in South America.

return to Canada as opposed to the way the people viewed life before moving to Bolivia. Electric lights, which were a source of contention before going to Bolivia, were installed by many individuals. Almost all those who returned had a telephone installed in their homes. A few of the more elderly persons who had previously refused to accept the "old age pension" offered by the Federal Government now made application to receive this benefit. While the people still were not totally in favor of the provincial school system, those who returned seemed to adopt a slightly more tolerant attitude toward the problem.* And while the economic situation in Canada was not totally without problems, it was far closer to Utopia than the economic scene in Bolivia.

One specific inference which may be made from the data, then, is that somehow in the process of moving to Bolivia and back to Canada, the reality of social change for the returning members of Bluemenort had been effectively rationalized and accepted. This is apparently true at least to the degree that the dissonance produced by the encroachment of the "outside world" upon the idealized traditional values of the "little community" had been reduced to a tolerable level. The mechanism behind this greater acceptance of the "outside world" seems to be that, in Bolivia, guilt about wanting to be Canadian is reduced.

In summary, what had begun as a movement toward revitalization of idealized traditional values, beliefs and practices, for those returning

* As a matter of fact, several persons stated that Canada is "a pretty good place to live if there were only no mandatory school attendance to age sixteen".

to Canada, had developed into confirmation of participation in the "greater society" in Canada.

CHAPTER TEN

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

The historic and ethnographic data presented in the foregoing chapters have concentrated on the phenomena of dissonance and socio-cultural continuity (change and persistence) among the Old Colony of Bluemenort. These are not the only concepts which the data may illuminate. Nevertheless, the following chapters focus on these two issues viewed analytically and from a theoretical perspective. Consequently, the final chapters of this essay explore: (1) the relevance of the ethnographic data to dissonance theory; (2) the infusion of selected elements of dissonance theory into a model constructed to explain certain aspects of persistence in the sectarian community of Bluemenort. The analytical separation of these two issues into distinct chapters is intended to expedite discussion and does not imply a substantive discontinuity in the subject matter.

Indeed, the relationship between dissonance and persistence should be clearly identified. In Bluemenort, the context of the relationship may be constructed on the basis of two principles.

First, Bluemenort, because of its sectarian character, may be viewed as a part-society (Meadows 1944).* As such, significant interaction, particularly in the sphere of economics, takes place between the "greater

* A "part-society" may be defined as one aspect or dimension of a total socio-cultural system. Whereas a socio-cultural system "... is autonomous because (it does) not require another system for (its) continued functioning", a part-society is not autonomous and, indeed, is typified by a relationship of partial depending upon the total system (Redfield 1960 b:40).

society" and the "little community". At the same time, the "little community" manifests a variety of areas of conflict in interaction with the "greater society". Group solidarity and cohesion in the "little community" may depend in large measure upon the maintenance of this conflict. As the degree of structural conflict lessens, from the perspective of the "little community", the process of secularization (increased "worldliness") increases. Such secularization may have the direct effect of diffusing a strong sense of group identity. At the same time, the sectarian is likely to perceive and explain the process in terms of the encroachment of the "greater society" upon the "little community".

Second, sectarian societies seem to exhibit an inherent structural propensity to split.

A highly interesting aspect of the development of a sect is found in the tendency to divide and become two sects, typically more bitter toward each other than toward the "world" which they formerly united in opposing. There appear to be two types of divisions. Sometimes it merely represents a stage in the process of reabsorption into the larger society from which they came out. In this case, the progressives or innovators want to change the old customs to conform with what is being done outside. The Disciples split on the question of whether an organ should be used in church, the organ party wishing to imitate the outsiders while their opponents wanted to maintain the older tradition. Another type of division seems to give no such clue. It is apparently a differential interpretation of an ambiguous constitutional phrase. The Dunkers had an issue concerning multiple foot washing; one party insisted that each person should wash the feet of only one other, while their opponents contended that each should wash the feet of

the initial statement or doctrine, and unless there is an adequate machinery, or supreme court, which can settle the matter, divisions may result (Faris 1928: 151).

In view of these two structural characteristics of sects, the occurrence of dissonance in a sectarian society will likely motivate sectarians to split. As Faris suggests, one faction tends to confirm participation in the larger society whereas the other faction reaffirms traditional values and practices. In the case of the Old Colony, such a process of splitting historically has involved migration.

Returning to the analytical distinction between dissonance and continuity, these two issues are the respective foci of the next two chapters. The first of these chapters explores sectarian division from the viewpoint of dissonance. The second confronts the same problem from the perspective of persistence and change.

In the context of dissonance, then, the ethnographic data demonstrate that participation in the affairs of the "greater society" had increased in Bluemenort to the point that the members of the community were experiencing increased dissonance due to the contradiction between their perception of the traditional structural ideal of an Old Colony

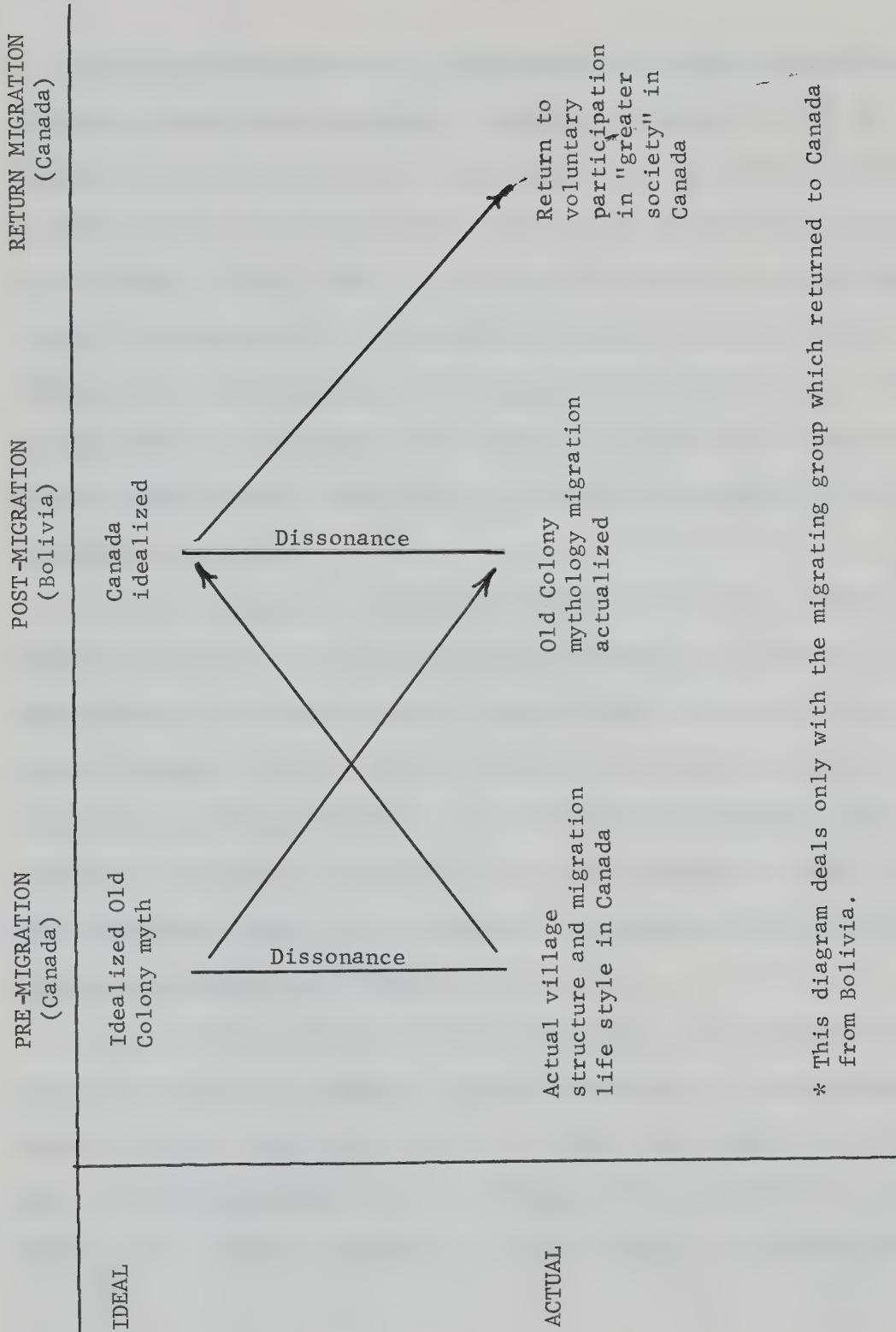
community* (that is, a myth concerning tradition**) and the reality of extensive participation in the "worldly" affairs of the "greater society". According to the explanatory model suggested by this study, when the intensity of dissonance reached an intolerable level, the group seemed motivated to reduce this tension.*** About one third of the congregation attained this end by opting for continuing commitment to participation in the "greater society". The remainder chose renewed isolation from the "greater society". This end was achieved by migration, the traditional Old Colony response to this type of dissonance (see page 180).

Again, the ethnographic data suggest that in the initial stages of resettlement, the migration produced the intended effect. Group cohesion

* As stated in an earlier chapter, most members of Bluemenort had never lived in a traditional Old Colony village. Consequently, their perception of the nature of a traditional life style was structured primarily from stories told by elderly persons in the community or by individuals who had visited relatives in the more traditional Old Colony communities in Mexico.

** For the purposes of this essay, the perception shared by members of Bluemenort concerning the nature of a traditional Old Colony community may be described as a myth. In this context, "myth" is defined as a generally accepted account of the origin and character of the traditional Old Colony politico-religious system and the life style which is a concomitant of this system (Beattie 1964:160). It is irrelevant whether or not this account is historically accurate. What is important is that the myth has psychological reality for its holders.

*** No attempt was made to measure the intensity of dissonance or to determine the point at which dissonance becomes intolerable as discussed on page 180. Dissonance is used solely as an interpretive device to explain events leading to migration.



* This diagram deals only with the migrating group which returned to Canada from Bolivia.

FIGURE TWO

Dissonance in Bluemennort

and solidarity were enhanced as the group's perception of traditional village life was operationalized. However, as Hammond (1963) has suggested, in a sectarian group, migration based upon value consensus is insufficient to maintain group cohesion for two reasons: (1) prior to migration, the sect fails to realistically assess its involvement in the "greater society"; (2) emphasis on value consensus lessens the likelihood of anticipating and solving problems of subsistence. Thus, in the context of migration, the tendency of sectarians to define all problems ideologically may ultimately have the unintended effect of increasing dissonance.

Such was the case in the new Bluemenort in Bolivia. Suddenly the mythical structure of society had been translated into practice. However, many persons in the new community found the new life style alien in terms of personal values, such as individual privacy and worldly technology (see Chapter Eight). As the dissonance stemming from this observation reached an intolerable level, an ideological shift occurred which idealized former life in Canada at the expense of the previously idealized mythology (see diagram on page 180).

As in the case of the migration to Bolivia, the occurrence of dissonance motivated attempts to reduce the tension. These attempts resulted in two courses of action: (1) about sixty members of Bluemenort made a strong commitment to the "tradition of the Fathers" and opted to remain in the Bolivian community; (2) approximately eighty-five members

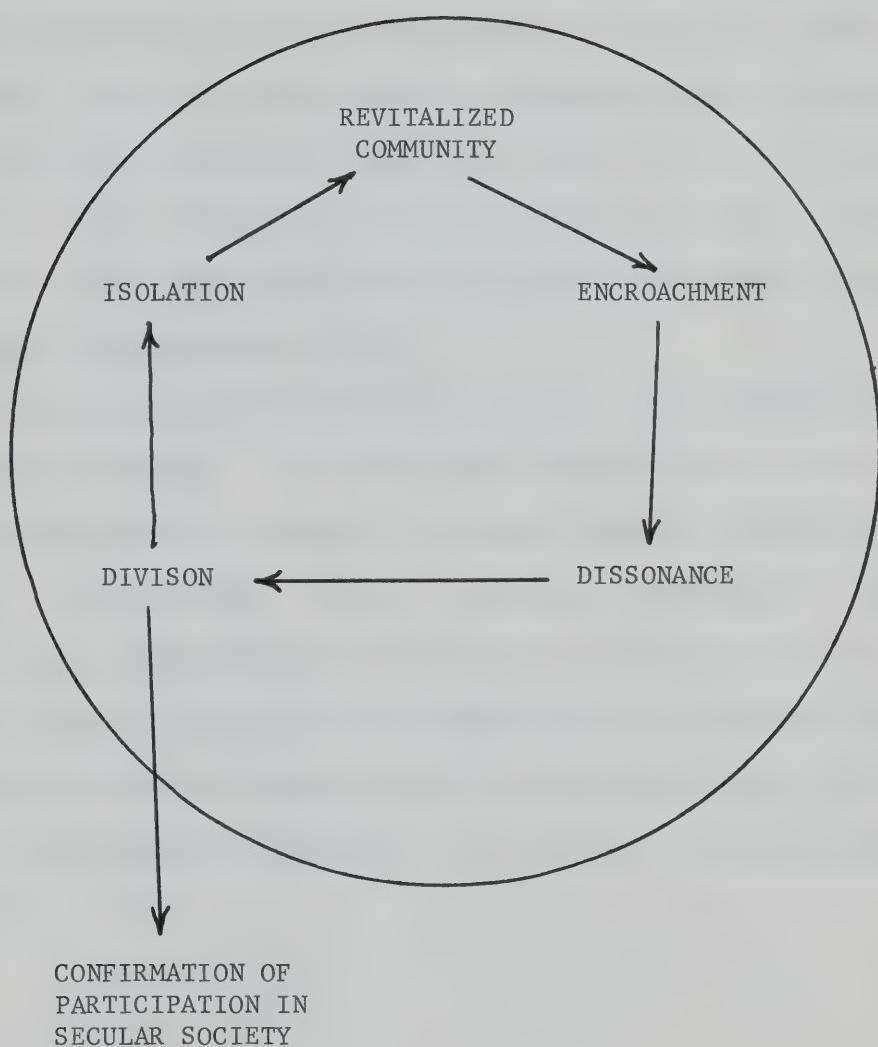
of the congregation chose to return to Canada.* Thus, dissonance once again reverted to a tolerable level for both groups.

The data clearly show that the group returning to Canada rapidly accepted aspects of change which they initially migrated to avoid. The whole problem of sectarian division must now be viewed analytically from the perspective of socio-cultural continuity.

From this viewpoint, then, division in Bluemenort might be depicted as a cyclical process (see diagram on page 183). If analysis is initiated at the point of revitalization, where Bluemenort was relatively isolated following the movement of the original members of the Canadian community from Saskatchewan to the Ft. Vermilion-LaCrete area, the process of secularization begins. As the degree of secularization becomes greater, dissonance involving the perceived contradictions between the mythical view of Old Colony society and the reality of "worldliness" among "God's chosen people" intensifies. The resulting tension motivates attempts to reduce dissonance. The nature of a sectarian group predisposes such a community (based upon voluntary membership) toward reduction of tension by division. Characteristically, the split allows two basic choices: (1) the liberal stance, or confirmation of the values of the "greater society" (that is, an acceptance and

* Somewhat over half of those remaining in Bolivia were forced to do so by economic circumstances. Of these individuals most persons seem to have effectively rationalized a commitment to the new community. Others may be like one man who wrote back to Canada begging for financial assistance to return. But he pleaded with his Canadian relatives not to mention his request in letters to other members of the Bolivian Bluemenort, because "if they find I wrote to Canada for help, they'll let me die for sure".

FIGURE THREE
Cycle of Persistence Among Old Colony



rationalization of socio-cultural change); (2) the conservative option, or reaffirmation of traditional values (that is, selection in favor of as little socio-cultural change as possible). The liberal faction is gradually absorbed into the "greater society". The conservative group makes an immediate move toward renewed isolation. (As suggested above, for the Old Colony, a move toward isolation historically entails migration.) Total isolation being an untenable position, the group moves toward the revitalized stance of a part-society, participating at least in the economic system of the "greater society". At this point, the cycle begins again with the gradual recurrence of secularization among the conservative group.

The cycle suggested by this model bears obvious relevance to socio-cultural change. In a sense, the liberal option in the division of a sectarian group is simply a structural method of adapting to change. At the same time, however, dissonance motivates the conservative faction toward reconfirmation of traditional values and behavior. This becomes a process of purging the community of influences for change--a process which has many implications for new perspectives on socio-cultural persistence in Bluemenort, and indeed, in sectarian groups as a whole.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

DISSONANCE THEORY

Festinger's View of Cognitive Dissonance

Leon Festinger's (1957) enunciation of a theory of cognitive dissonance provides some basic insights into the motivational tension which inconsistency produces within an individual and the manner in which a person attempts to reduce such tension.

Dissonance and consonance are relations among cognitions--that is, among opinions, beliefs, knowledge of the environment, and knowledge of one's own actions and feelings. Two opinions, or beliefs, or items of knowledge are dissonant with each other if they do not fit together--that is, if they are inconsistent, or if, considering only the particular two items, one does not follow from the other (Festinger 1964:25).

In other words, the relationship between two cognitive elements is consonant if one element implies the other in some psychological sense. Conversely, a dissonant relationship between two cognitive elements occurs when one element implies the obverse of the other (also in some psychological rather than a logical sense). Festinger (1957:2) points out that the term "dissonance" is used in place of "inconsistency" partially to avoid the "logical" or "rational" connotation of the latter term. To a given individual, logical inconsistency may not be an explicitly perceived aspect of an experience of dissonance.

Festinger's hypotheses are based on his statement that dissonance produces discomfort. Consequently, his major hypothesis asserts that "the presence of dissonance gives rise to pressures to reduce that dissonance" (Festinger 1957:263).

Attempts to reduce dissonance represent the observable manifestation that dissonance exists. Such attempts may take any or all of three forms. The person may try to change one or more of the beliefs, opinions, or behaviors involved in the dissonance; to acquire new information or beliefs that will increase the existing consonance and thus cause the total dissonance to be reduced; or to forget or reduce the importance of those cognitions that are in a dissonant relationship (Festinger 1964:26).

Cognitive dissonance, then, is a psychological tension having "motivational characteristics" (Brehm and Cohen 1962:3). At this point, however, the important factor to note is that "motivational tension" bears a direct relationship to change and resistance to change. Concomitantly, "motivational tension" implies some process of selectivity regarding alternate modes of reducing this dissonance.

How dissonance is reduced (or attempts at reduction are made) depends on the resistance to change of relevant cognitive elements. Those cognitions with relatively low resistance tend to change first. The resistance to change of a cognitive element comes from the extent to which such a change would produce new dissonance and from some joint function of the responsiveness of the cognition to reality (what it represents) and the difficulty of changing the reality. Where the reality represented is ambiguous (e.g. a diffuse emotional reaction in oneself, a physical stimulus in the presence of considerable "noise", or the prediction of an uncertain future event), the cognitive element can be changed quite readily without any change in the reality. On the other hand, if the

reality is quite clear, then the resistance to change of the corresponding cognitive element will generally be proportional to the difficulty of changing the reality. How difficult it is to change a given aspect of reality varies all the way from extremely easy to essentially impossible (Brehm and Cohen 1962:4).

Two factors tend to increase the resistance to change on the part of two elements (or between sets of elements). The first involves any situation where a cognitive element does not correspond with observable reality. In such a case, though a cognitive element could be changed so as not to correspond with reality, "...by and large there appears to be an overwhelming pressure for a person to keep his cognitions veridical with reality" (Brehm and Cohen 1962:5).

The second factor which relates to an increase in the resistance to change is commitment. In view of the fact that commitment increases resistance to change, commitment has a definite bearing upon the kinds of attempts which may be made to reduce dissonance. Furthermore, the aspect of resistance to change exhibited by commitment applies equally to situations in which either public or private decisions are made.

We would assume that a public commitment is usually more resistant to change than a private commitment. This assumption can be subsumed under another plausible assumption, namely, that the resistance to change of a commitment increases as strength of expectation by others increases that one will hold to the commitment. A further factor affecting the resistance due to commitment concerns whether or not it is physically possible to change the commitment (Brehm and Cohen 1962:8).

Dissonance theory further implies that attempts to reduce dissonance may stimulate change in some unexpected directions.

While it is clear that motivation must sometimes be taken into account in the prediction of dissonance, an additional and perhaps more important implication is that change in motivation may sometimes result from dissonance. That is, motivational change is one more way in which dissonance can be reduced....In summary...motivational change will serve to reduce dissonance just as will attitude change, selective exposure to information, and so on (Brehm and Cohen 1962:132).

Beyond Festinger

In the articulation of dissonance theory, Leon Festinger has identified a phenomenon of immense social and psychological significance. The data from Bluemenort, however, permit the expansion of dissonance theory beyond issues discussed by Festinger and others (e.g. Brehm and Cohen 1962, Chapanis and Chapanis 1964).

Although Festinger initially identified dissonance in the context of a social movement (Festinger 1957), he then moved to the realm of individual psychology to further test his hypotheses. Such a move was undoubtedly in the interest of scientific rigor, that is, more control over variables, a search for quantifiable data, and the increased pursuit of academic "credibility". The emphasis on laboratory (dissonance creating) experiments and quantifiable data obscured the identification of dissonance in terms of social and cultural processes (able to be identified in the context of social psychology) in favor of the pre-eminence of individual psychological processes of dissonance. This is not to

say that dissonance, from the perspective of individual psychology, should be ignored. However, the data from Bluemenort indicate that dissonance may be analyzed in terms of group dynamics as well as within the context of the individual. When such an event occurs, the source of dissonance as well as the means of reducing the psychological tension may have to be explained through the analysis of socio-cultural dynamics as well as through individual psychology.

Another criticism can be directed against Festinger's statement that "attempts to reduce dissonance represent the observable manifestation that dissonance exists" (Festinger 1964:26). In one sense, this statement is undoubtedly true. At the same time, the statement borders the tautological. The data from Bluemenort suggest that this circuitous identification of dissonance is probably unnecessary. In Bluemenort, dissonance is evidenced directly through the statements made by various members of the community.*

Finally, Festinger makes no attempt to distinguish between distinctive types of dissonance. The ethnographic data from Bluemenort indicate that such distinctions may be valid. Different types of dissonance seem to emanate from unique sources or a constellation of

* Since dissonance in this study is used primarily in understanding and explaining events leading to migration by providing a motivational link, no attempt has been made to measure dissonance directly. Nevertheless, this is not to say that dissonance is something which is merely inferred as there is substantial evidence (partially summarized on page 196) of dissonance in the form of statements made by members of Bluemenort.

sources. The following types of dissonance, then, are derived from the Bluemenort data (see table of examples of each type on page 196).

(1) Ideo-Structural Dissonance (Myth vs. Reality)* In Bluemenort, ideo-structural dissonance is probably the most prevalent type of dissonance observed during the period of field research. This type of dissonance occurs as a result of an apparent contradiction between a mythical community structure and life style which should be exemplified in the congregation of Bluemenort and the obviously secularized reality of having compromised the myth. In other words, the social and politico-religious structure recalled as distinctive of "God's chosen people" has degenerated to the point where group identity may no longer be recognized according to mythological criteria.

Ideo-structural dissonance may be observed in a variety of instances in Bluemenort. Mythology decreed a distinctive physical structure for an Old Colony village. Bluemenort in Alberta had never been able to incorporate this structure. Mythology institutionalized a form of politico-religious organization peculiar to the Old Colony. Remnants of such organization prevailed in form in Bluemenort, but on a practical plane, did not function. Mythology specified acceptable technology in an Old Colony community. Yet, many items of proscribed technology were common in Bluemenort.

The sources of ideo-structural dissonance, then, lie basically in the ethical conflict which arises when the mythical socio-cultural

* The terms in parentheses refer to the source of dissonance, while 'ideo structural' designates the type of dissonance.

system which ought to be typical of the community is replaced by a "worldly" system. The observable manifestations of such dissonance are the distress, remorse and guilt expressed by the members of the community. Though experienced by individuals, such tensions are shared sufficiently by most members of the community that the problem assumes a sociological dimension.

Another noteworthy point is that ideo-structural dissonance may also operate in the reverse direction to that suggested above. Instead of dissonance emanating from the contradiction between a mythological social structure which ought to be a reality and present secularization which is evident, psychological tension may be generated by operationalizing the mythical system (as happened in the move to Bolivia) only to discover that the actual sentiments, values and attitudes of individuals are more consistent with a secular socio-cultural system (as found in Canada before the migration). For example, when members of Bluemenort migrated to Bolivia, they found they valued privacy, "worldly" technology, less rigid community sanctions, and so on. Nonetheless, the sources of dissonance are still ideo-structural.

(2) Sectarian Dissonance ("Little Community" vs. "Larger Society")

The depiction of a sect as a "part-society" (as suggested in Chapter Ten) is the basis of sectarian dissonance. In a sectarian community, the relationship between the sect and the "larger society" is one of ambivalence. On one hand, the sacred community is defined as being in conflict with the "worldly" larger society. On the other hand, the intensity of the conflict is limited by the extent of economic

participation in the "larger society". The sectarian community, then, simultaneously rejects and relies upon the "larger society".

This is a most important principle. The implication is that the ideal relationship between the sect and the "larger society" involves the maintenance of a certain degree of institutionalized tension. Tension must be maintained to the point where the sectarian feels persecuted by "the world" while at the same time he participates (primarily economically) in the "larger society". For example, in Bluemenort in Canada before the initial migration, the community maintained its identity for a number of years by feeling in conflict with "the world", while simultaneously depending on economic participation in "the world".

However, intolerable dissonance arises from either increased secularization and the concomitant threat of assimilation into the "larger society", or a move toward increased isolation which may cause the severence of (at least) economic ties with the "larger society". In either case, secularization or theocratization,* the sect is in danger of losing its structural identity as a part-society. Whether or not they are aware of the issue, sectarians enjoy and depend upon economic participation in the "larger society" and share many of the values of "the world". Thus, while the Old Colony believed that

* For the purpose of this essay, 'theocratization' denotes more or less total social and geographic isolation of a sectarian community.

their problems would be solved by isolation in Bolivia, such was not the case. In analytic terms, the move to Bolivia decreased ideo-structural dissonance, but simultaneously increased sectarian dissonance. This complex relationship is fully discussed on page 210

(3) Existential Dissonance. While the other types of dissonance mentioned above involve problems of community or group identity, existential dissonance focuses upon problems of personal identity. Existential dissonance includes deeply personal issues such as guilt, personal disorientation and the meaning of personal existence. But existential dissonance is not merely the personal dimension of other kinds of dissonance. For example, ideo-structural dissonance results from awareness on the part of the community of a contradiction between an idealized myth and the reality of day to day living. Such dissonance is due to factors over which the members of Bluemenort have no control (e.g. school authorities, the Peace River Planning Commission, etc.). Existential dissonance, however, occurs when an individual does something which he feels to be wrong and which could be done differently (e.g. placing personal economic benefit ahead of co-operation with other members of the community).

Furthermore, existential dissonance occurs when individuals are disoriented such as when members of Bluemenort in Bolivia felt uneasy because of space-time disorientation (see page 161). Again, existential dissonance may occur when an individual questions the meaning of his own existence such as in the Bolivian community when

individuals began wondering if alternate life styles may be better than that peculiar to the Old Colony (see page 162).

Existential dissonance is probably the most frightening type of psychological tension to the sectarian. Such dissonance presents a problem with which the sectarian is ill equipped to cope. Characteristically, the sectarian deals with dissonance by structural means (i.e. divisions within the group, realignment of loyalties in terms of ideological views shared by factions, etc.). However, existential dissonance involves contradictory cognitions concerning issues of intensely personal meaning and significance. Consequently, reduction of dissonance may be accomplished usually only by radical personal commitment to one perspective or by subverting the confrontation between the dissonant cognitions.

Dissonance in Bluemenort

The discussion of dissonance theory presented above demonstrates at least two principles. First, while dissonance is experienced by individuals, similar experiences of dissonance may be shared by a group. If common experiences of dissonance are shared by a group of persons, the phenomenon may assume a distinctive social dynamic. Second, types of dissonance may be distinguished analytically on the basis of a variety of sources of dissonance and, to a lesser extent, the manner in which each type of dissonance may be reduced.

When this expanded perspective on dissonance is applied to the data from Bluemenort (as specifically illustrated in the theoretical overview on page 183), the motivational character of an intolerable level of dissonance is readily apparent. Dissonance would not only motivate individuals to reduce the ensuing psychological tension of a personal nature (e.g. existential dissonance), but would similarly assume a sociological dynamic (e.g. ideo-structural or sectarian dissonance) motivating an entire group to respond collectively to reduce common experiences of such intolerable tension. Furthermore, the data suggest that intolerable levels of (primarily ideo-structural and sectarian) dissonance in a sectarian society may be sufficiently compelling to motivate (via efforts at dissonance reduction) sectarian division. Thus, the next chapter focuses on discussion of the nature of the relationship between dissonance and socio-cultural change and persistence in a sectarian community.

EXAMPLES OF TYPES

OF DISSONANCE IN BLUEMENORT

Ideo-Structural Dissonance

CANADA

- P. 115 -technological change in relation to mythological values concerning technology
- P. 115 -the church has little control over a dispersed and mobile community
- P. 115 -without the traditional village layout, unlimited land tenure is possible
- P. 115 -inequitable distribution of wealth (economic elitism in the community)
- P. 47 -change in the practice of mutual aid
- P. 60 -the inability of the youth to recite the catechism
- P. 66 -brotherly love vs. capitalism
- P. 78 -ineffectiveness of traditional sanctioning mechanisms
- P. 78 -petty theft among the youth

BOLIVIA

- P. 156 -unequal distribution of wealth
- P. 159 -the brotherly ideal is shattered by individual selfishness
- P. 160 -religious elite vs. economic elite
- P. 165 -idealized Canada vs. "bad" Bolivia
- P. 168 -"money grabbers" in the community of brotherly love

Sectarian Dissonance

CANADA*

- P. 54 -defection of the youth
- P. 54 -increased "worldliness"
- P. 91 -encroachment of the provincial government school system
- P. 91 -teachers are "English"
- P. 103 -missions among the Old Colony
- P. 103 -xenophobia
- P. 91 -sex education in school
- P. 115 -the new money
- P. 122 -the "Super Plot"

Existential Dissonance

CANADA

- P. 115 -church leaders encouraged migration but did not personally migrate
- P. 115 -a personal sense of guilt in relation to personal manifestations of "worldliness"

* In Bolivia, there are no discernible examples of sectarian dissonance due to the isolation of the community. The "little community" did not have time (to the end of the period of field research) to develop relationships of institutionalized conflict with the larger society. If any dissonance of this type existed, the sources were negative in the sense that sectarian dissonance occurred due to the lack of relationship with the "greater society".

BOLIVIA

- P. 156 -members of "God's community" sent dishonest letters to Canada encouraging friends and relatives to migrate
- P. 156 -unfamiliar environment
- P. 156 -travesty of house-building, sanitation, etc. in Bolivian community
- P. 156 -lack of personal privacy in Bolivia
- P. 156 -time-space disorientation
- P. 156 -excessive heat altering traditional work patterns
- P. 156 -unfamiliar weights and measures
- P. 164 -the "existential" sermonette vs. the reality of traditional regiment in Bolivia
- P. 165 -personal guilt for considering the validity of alternate life styles

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE AND PERSISTENCE IN A SECT

Introduction and Definitions

Studies of mechanisms and dynamics of social change abound in sociological literature. Conversely, research relating to nonchange or persistence of a socio-cultural system seems to be much less prominent in the annals of social science.* Two possible reasons may be advanced for this apparent lack of interest in persistence. First, our own cultural bias tends to focus attention on change rather than persistence. Second, as Herskovits (1951:484) observed, "...it is much easier methodologically, to study change than it is to study such a negatively oriented phenomenon as stability."

Furthermore, a terminological problem appears to complicate the discussion of persistence. The variety of terms which denote or connote 'persistence' seems endless (e.g. 'nonchange', 'cultural stability', 'cultural conservatism', 'resistance to culture change'). In an effort to provide terminological clarification, then, for the purposes of this essay, 'nonchange' and 'persistence' should be viewed as distinct concepts.

* A few selected examples of studies of persistence include the work of Freilich (1958), Donaghue (1957), Redekop and Hostetler (1964), Hammond (1963), Hagopian (1964), Eaton (1952) and Freilich (1962).

'Nonchange' implies a totally static condition, a situation wherein literally no change occurs. Talcott Parsons (1964:83) places this concept in perspective when he claims that "the specificities of significant change could not even be identified if there were no relative background of nonchange to relate them to." Traditionally in the social sciences, 'nonchange' assumes only methodological significance in "zero point" theory of culture change. 'Nonchange' is the static "zero point" against which change may be measured. Or as Herskovits says, "...change, by and of itself, is meaningless, until it is projected against a baseline, measured in time and intensity and in terms of its extensiveness" (Herskovits 1951:483).*

*The relationship between nonchange and zero point theory is of some significance to this study. If zero point theory had dominated this study, analysis would proceed on the following basis:

- (1) An arbitrary point in Old Colony history would be selected as typifying the "true" Old Colony life style. This "ideal type" would include a list of the salient cultural traits representative of the "true Old Colony life style", that is, the methodological "zero point".
- (2) At successive intervals (points "one", "two", "three", etc.) the socio-cultural system would be "monitored" for measurable change. "Cultural traits" would be listed as representative of these points and compared with the list from the "zero point". Traits which endured would be categorized as "nonchange". Change would be indicated by new traits or passing away of the old.

If such methodology had prevailed, in terms of the data from Bluemenort, the natural question to pose as a result of the sectarian division observed is "Who are the 'real' Old Colony?" Many studies of "persistence" seem to converge at this point of theoretical sterility. The question emanates from a mirage of definition and methodology (see Thouless 1953).

On the other hand, in a community such as Bluemenort, where individuals constantly evaluate innovations in relation to mythology, the resulting selective and controlled change may be called persistence.*

Dissonance, Persistence and Change

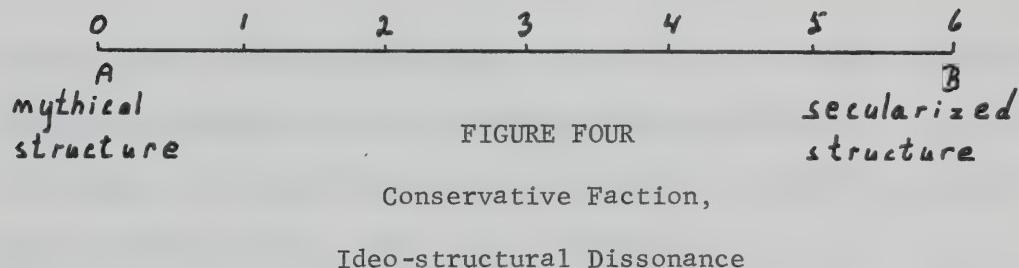
The peculiar relationship between dissonance and persistence in a sect is that the dissonance which stems from the confrontation between innovations and mythology motivates the process of selective change. According to the explanation advanced in Chapters Ten and Eleven, in Bluemenort dissonance occurs in three manifestations-- ideo-structural, sectarian and existential. The model suggests that these three spheres are specific areas in which selectivity must take place in order to influence the character of the socio-cultural system.

For example, ideo-structural dissonance would involve sectarian confrontation with the issue of whether to choose** in favor of the mythical structure of the "little community" (choice A) or the

* In the context of this definition of persistence, the problem of who the "real" Old Colony are has a much more interesting answer. The "real" Old Colony are those who retain a mythology which legitimates their claim to being Old Colony. Furthermore, this definition provides a context for change and focuses attention on the mechanisms which influence change and adaptation and which provide for the historical continuity of a socio-cultural system.

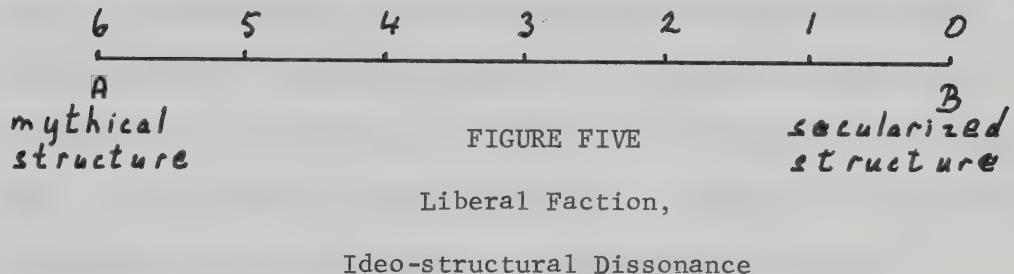
** In terms of the argument being presented, "choice" may involve rational processes of thought or more or less accidental or unconscious movement in the direction of an alternative. "Choice" simply implies a mechanism or process of selection.

secularized structure of the "greater society" (choice B). Before division and migration to Bolivia, reduction of ideo-structural dissonance in the community of Bluemenort could be accomplished for the conservative faction by opting to preserve the mythical structure of the "little community". Opting for the secularized structure of the "greater society" would increase ideo-structural dissonance for this group (see illustration below).*



Conversely, for the liberal faction, ideo-structural dissonance would be reduced by opting for the secularized structure of the "greater society". At the same time, a choice in favor of the mythical structure of the "little community" would increase dissonance (see illustration below).

* The values on the diagram above and on succeeding diagrams in this chapter have no ontological reality. They serve only as an analytical device to demonstrate increases and decreases in dissonance. Dissonance would be lowest at "0" and highest at "6".



The fact that the choice would be limited to two alternatives (the conservative reaffirmation of the traditional mythology or the liberal confirmation of assimilation into the "greater society") is derived from the nature of the sect as a part-society.*

Selection in favor of the conservative alternative would tend to guarantee perpetuation of adherence to the mythical structure of the sectarian community despite (sometimes) substantial discrepancies which might be reflected in a comparison of the present mythology with the realities of the historical past. From the conservative perspective, the fact that reduction of intolerable ideo-structural dissonance would lead to division appears to be viewed as a purging process which rids the community of the structural semblance of "worldliness", as well as individuals who may support such an undesirable structure.

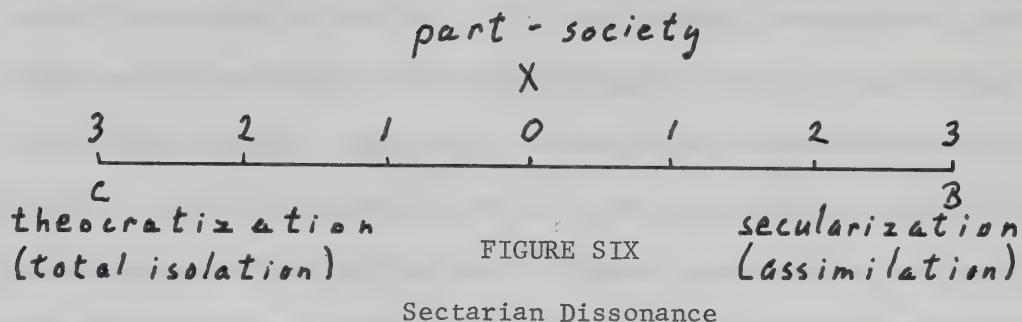
* Theoretically, ideo-structural dissonance could also be reduced by changing the concept of the mythical structure of society so as to increase the secular content of the mythical structure. However, in this study, the mythical structure is viewed as a constant, leaving alternatives to be pursued in some further research.

On the other hand, the liberal faction would opt for structural unity with the "larger society". While this merging process might take time, little discontinuity of socio-cultural processes would occur. In other words, it seems important that each direction (conservative or liberal) pursued in the process of sectarian division be viewed in terms of diachronic continuity. At the same time, in the process of secularization, the liberal faction would increasingly lose the structural characteristics of a sect.

The analysis of sectarian dissonance presents a very different perspective on the nature of persistence in a sect. Such an analysis begins with the issue of boundary maintenance.

Some of the more traditional sociological views of boundary maintenance as a means of limiting intercultural contact or isolating society are not very productive when applied to a sect. However, Cohen (1964:104) more recently defines a social boundary system as "...a structural system of relationships in which individuals are bound to one another by complex and ramifying ties". He thus sees boundary maintenance as regulating interaction rather than limiting interpersonal and intergroup relationships.

Applying Cohen's views to the understanding of persistence in a sect provides some unanticipated insights. Chapter Eleven suggested that sectarian dissonance would increase when the balance between the "little community" and the "greater society" is lost in favor of either theocratization or assimilation (see illustration below).



That sectarian dissonance would increase as the sect moves from the stance of a "part-society" toward assimilation is not surprising. But that dissonance would similarly increase as the sect approaches theocratization is contrary to expectation. Only when the interaction between the sect and the "greater society" is regulated so as to preserve the structural balance of a "part-society" would sectarian dissonance be maintained at a tolerable level.* This principle would be equally applicable to both conservative and liberal factions.

To summarize the relationship between ideo-structural dissonance and sectarian dissonance, then, ideo-structural dissonance motivates selection between alternate ideologies which are related to the

* Structural balance of the sect as a "part-society" is accompanied by psychological ambivalence on the part of the sectarian. "Ambivalence" describes the necessity of the sectarian feeling in conflict with the "larger society" while simultaneously depending (at least economically) upon a positive relationship with "the world".

overall structure of the sect. In this manner, reduction of ideo-structural dissonance would occur through a choice of one or two polar alternatives. Conversely, sectarian dissonance motivates the sect to limit ideological polarity to the extent that a part-society is maintained. The implications of these relationships may be illustrated in relation to conservative and liberal factions before and after migration to Bolivia.

Before migration to Bolivia, Bluemenort experienced increasing secularization. ("y" was moving toward "B".) From the perspective of the conservative faction, both ideo-structural dissonance and sectarian dissonance were increasing. Reduction of dissonance seemed possible only by opting in favor of theocratization and the mythical structure of society. This option was exercised by migration.

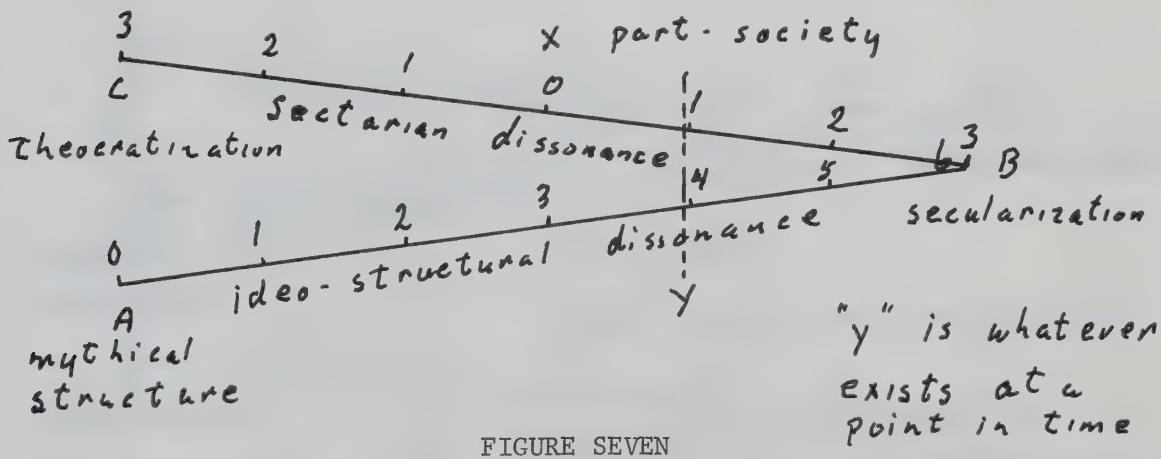
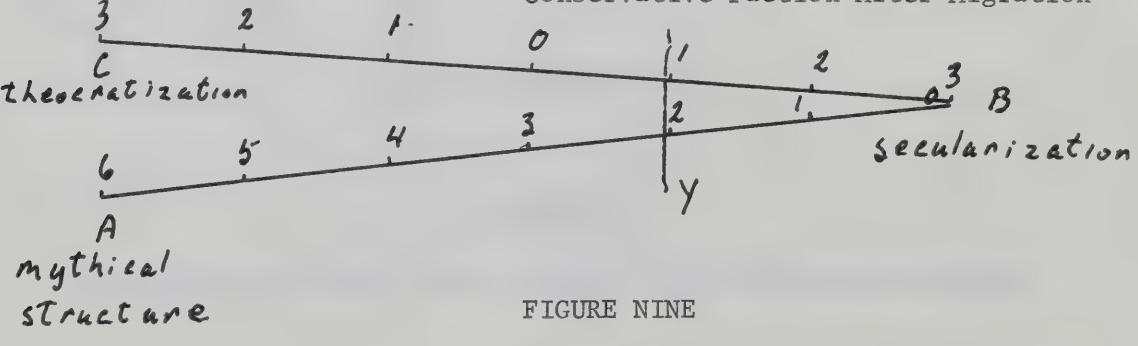
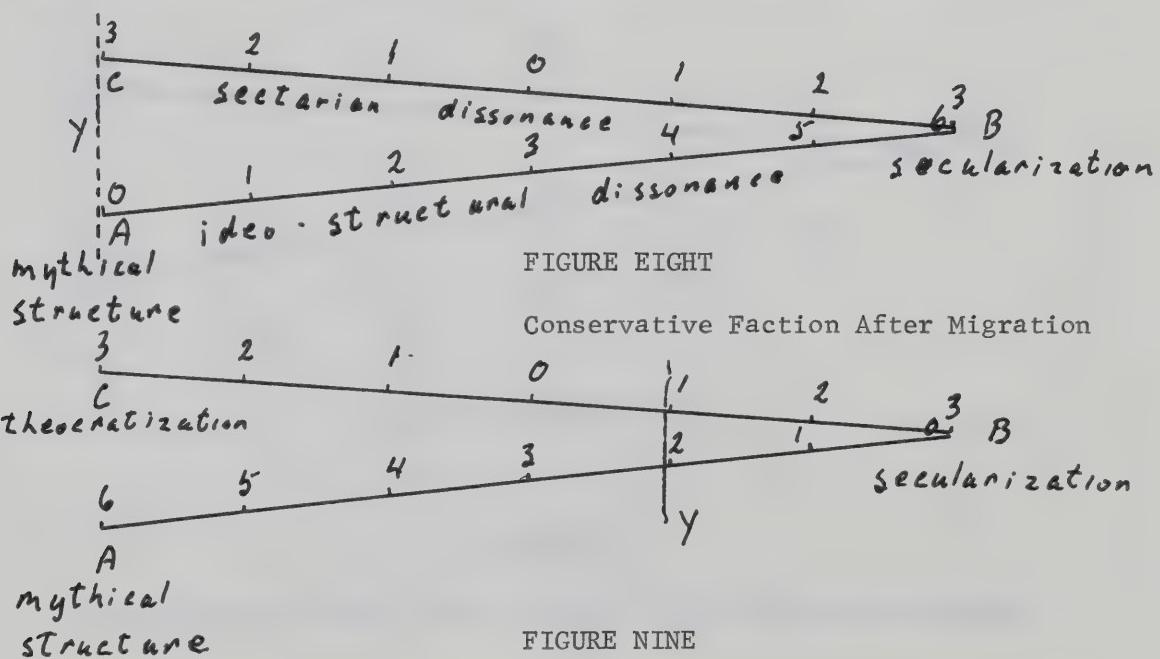


FIGURE SEVEN

Conservative Faction Before Migration

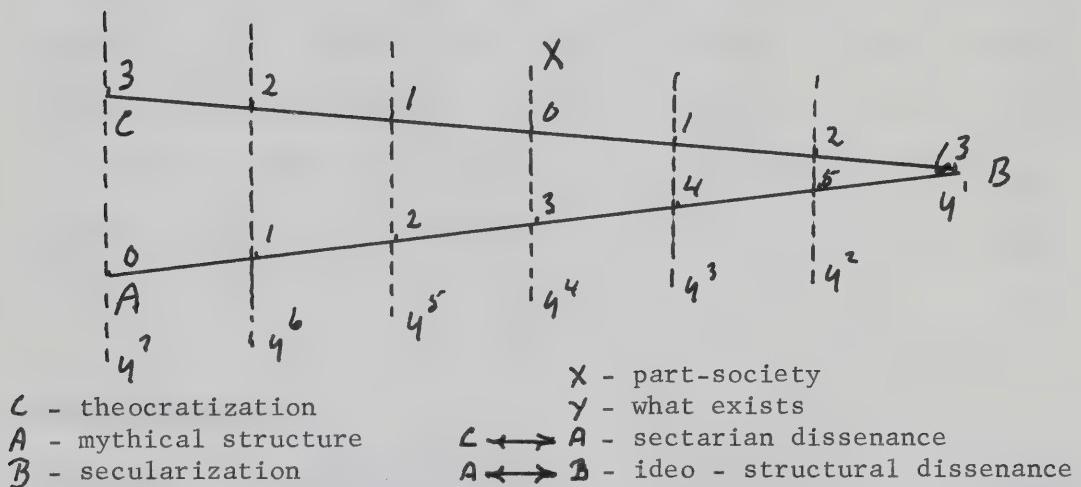
In migrating to Bolivia, the members of the conservative faction in Bluemenort accomplished their aim of theocratization and the establishment of the mythical structure of society. Unexpectedly, however, their problems were not solved. While ideo-structural dissonance decreased, sectarian dissonance actually increased, as demonstrated by a comparison of Figures

Returning to view the relationship between ideo-structural dissonance and sectarian dissonance from the liberal perspective before division and the migration of the conservatives, the following relationships prevail. As Bluemenort moves toward secularization, ideo-structural dissonance decreases, but sectarian dissonance increases. The clear implication is that while some problems of the liberal faction are solved by secularization, rejection of sectarian identity provides a continuing measure of psychological discomfort.



An overview of the theoretical implications of the relationship between ideo-structural dissonance and sectarian dissonance may be formulated as follows:

CONSERVATIVE PERSPECTIVE



LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

FIGURE TEN

Relationship Between Ideo-structural and Sectarian Dissonance

Conservative Faction

Situation	ideo-structural dissonance	sectarian dissonance	total dissonance
y ¹	6	3	9
y ²	5	2	7
y ³	4	1	5
y ⁴	3	0	3
y ⁵	2	1	3
y ⁶	1	2	3
y ⁷	0	3	3

Liberal Faction

Situation	ideo-structural dissonance	sectarian dissonance	total dissonance
y ¹	0	3	3
y ²	1	2	3
y ³	2	1	3
y ⁴	3	0	3
y ⁵	4	1	5
y ⁶	5	2	7
y ⁷	6	3	9

TABLE THREE

Analytical Degrees of Dissonance

Notice that for the conservative faction, the model predicts that movement from the part-society (y^4) to theocratization ($y7$) and vice versa, does not reduce the overall level of dissonance. Similarly, for the liberal faction, movement between the "part-society" (y^4) and secularization (y^1) has no effect on the total level of dissonance. This may help to explain the instability of the sect as a form of religious social organization as well as demonstrate the constant ambivalence of the sectarian in relation to "the world". Evidently the sectarian cannot escape a certain amount of personal dissatisfaction and restlessness regardless of what structural choices he makes.

The practical application of this theory also accounts for why the Old Colony (and perhaps other sects) apparently are unable to predict the failure of migrations as a method of solving ideological and structural problems. They do not understand that the reduction of ideo-structural dissonance by opting for the mythical structure of society (which includes the concept of theocratization) implies an intolerable increase in sectarian dissonance.

Existential dissonance also is related directly to persistence. The reduction of such dissonance influences the size and cohesiveness of factions emanating from sectarian division. In other words, the size of the respective factions is determined somewhat by the mechanisms which an individual may employ to effect reduction of

existential dissonance. Similarly, the internal cohesiveness or solidarity of a given faction may depend to a great extent upon the nature of individual commitment (or avoidance of commitment) to a given course of action. For example, in Bluemenort, the size and cohesiveness of all factions involved in the sequence of migrations (as well as those groups who opted at one point or another not to support further migration) depended totally on individual commitment to a course of action which (apart from other intentions) was calculated to reduce existential dissonance.

Dissonance, Persistence and Identity

From the foregoing discussion, the relevance of personal and group identity to persistence is readily apparent. In fact, from one perspective the problem of dissonance may be viewed as an identity crisis (either on a personal or group level). In a sect, then, existential dissonance provokes a crisis of personal identity, the resolution of which will define the relationship of the individual to the sect (in terms of "sacred" ingroup or "worldly" outgroup). Again, ideo-structural and sectarian dissonance primarily involve crises of group identity, the resolution of which involves some form of structural realignment (e.g. division, reinterpretation of ideology, redefinition of relationships to the "greater society", and so on) within the sect or between the sect and "the world".

Perhaps persistence in a sect may similarly be viewed from the perspective of personal and group identity. In studies conducted in accordance with traditional sociological principles based directly or indirectly on tenets of "zero point" theory, the reckoning of change and nonchange according to a list of cultural traits indicates only the retention (nonchange) or disappearance (change) of traits which the social scientist identifies with his arbitrarily selected "zero point".* While such a methodology may indicate that change or non-change has occurred in terms of specific socio-cultural entities, there is no indication of the process of selectivity involved and hence no context of social dynamics into which change may be placed.

However, persistence emphasizes the process of selectivity which governs change and adaptation in a socio-cultural system. Nonchange is not unrelated to this concept, but is subsumed under the more comprehensive notion of persistence. When applied to a sect, the clear implication is that persistence may be analyzed in terms of personal and group identity. In this context, identity is not based upon a specific typology of cultural traits established at "point

* When the social scientist tests for change or nonchange by "zero point" methodology, he essentially compares a list of cultural traits at points zero, one, two, etc. In doing so, he measures successive lists (at points one, two, three, etc.) against his arbitrarily selected typology of cultural traits associated with "point zero". On one hand, this method specifically indicates retention and disappearance of certain cultural traits as well as emergence of new traits. On the other hand, the clear implication is that the "point zero" typology, a static, synchronic (and arbitrary) sociological construct, might be expected to typify the cultural identity of the society in question on a more or less timeless basis.

zero". Instead, identity in a sect is related to the mythology of the sectarian community. Such a mythology provides the acceptable articulation of the basic beliefs, values and associational principles of the sect. Commitment to such a mythology defines personal and group identity and simultaneously is the cornerstone of group solidarity and cohesion.

Persistence in a Sect

In the Theoretical Overview (see page 176) division in a sect is depicted as a more or less cyclical process. The character of a sect as a part-society provides such a group with a structural propensity to split. Within this framework, the five stages suggested as typical of the cyclical sequence include revitalization, encroachment, dissonance, division and isolation. This cycle presents the conservative viewpoint. The liberal alternative views assimilation of the liberal faction into the "larger society" following "division" of the group into conservative and liberal factions.

The cycle outlined above may be analyzed also from the perspective of persistence. Initiating analysis at the point of revitalization, the process of selectivity governing change and adaptation in a sect is based almost entirely on the mythology which provides a relatively well articulated focal point of group identity and cohesion. Encroachment of the "larger society" presents an external alternative to the mythology based on tradition. The contradictory alternative produces

(various types of) intolerable dissonance shared by the group though experienced by individual members. At the same time, the criteria by which change and adaptation are selected are broadened in general scope or two sets of criteria (conservative or liberal) become viable.

According to dissonance theory, then, intolerable levels of dissonance will motivate attempts to reduce the psychological tension. Resolution of the problem requires resolution of (personal and group) identity crises. The two basic alternatives are identification with the traditional mythology of the group or commitment to "the world".

Once liberal and conservative factions emanate on the basis of the range of personal commitments, a concomitant bifurcation arises in terms of the respective processes of selection of change and adaptation. These processes, which for a time (beginning with the period of encroachment and terminating with the period of division) merged or otherwise became indistinct, again become sharply focused in relation to the respective clearly identifiable conservative and liberal factions. Thus, for both factions in the division, the direction of the processes governing change and adaptation is clarified. The liberal faction selects change in the direction of eventual assimilation into the "larger society". The conservative group selects change in favor of intense geographical or social (or both) isolation from "the world".

However, if the sect is to survive as such, the conservatives will have to adjust their polar reaction of isolation to the extent that they once again assume their identity as a part-society. The

motivation to accomplish this end is usually the apparent necessity or desirability of economic participation in the "larger society". Such an adjustment ushers in the period of revitalization from which the cycle is repeated.

One further implication of viewing this cycle from the perspective of persistence is that when the cycle is said to be "repeated", only the analytical stages are repeated in principle. In other words, successive "cycles" may bear little resemblance one to the other in terms of content, though the processes (encroachment, dissonance, division, etc.) may be similar. For example, successive periods of Old Colony revitalization may evidence remarkably different mythologies, social structure, and so on. The reason is that persistence is not so much nonchange as it is (somewhat conservatively) selective change and adaptation. In other words, revitalization is not regression to a way of life similar to some ideal type arbitrarily selected at some point in history. Revitalization is a period during which the "ingroup" identity of the sect is clarified and group solidarity is enhanced.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

METHODOLOGY, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Methodology

As the initial reason for conducting field research in Bluemenort was to complete a more traditional community study which would also explore aspects of the interaction of the community with "the outside world", the observation of sectarian division and migration was unanticipated. However, the events witnessed in the field in northern Alberta were of such interest and significance that the study was continued in Bolivia following the migration to South America. The end result was a unique body of data concerning the division and migration of the Old Colony of Bluemenort. The primary problem was how to explain and to interpret the ethnographic data which was of rather unexpected character. In other words, the development of an explanatory theory or interpretive model was essential.

Sellitz et al (1959:480) suggest that "...the intention of a theory in modern science is to summarize existing knowledge, to provide an explanation for observed events and relationships, and to predict the occurrence of as yet unobserved events and relationships on the basis of the explanatory principles embodied in the theory."

The theoretical model constructed in Chapters Ten through Twelve fulfills the above-mentioned functions. The theory does summarize

salient elements of existing knowledge concerning the nature of the relationship between the sect and the "larger society", the process of sectarian division and the consequent persistence of the sect. Similarly, the theory explains observed events and relationships contained in the ethnographic data. Indeed, one of the principal arguments in favor of the utility of the theoretical model developed in this study is that it seems to account not only for the motivation for migration, but also it integrates migration with the explanation of the larger issue of socio-cultural persistence in Bluemenort.

Furthermore, the theory has predictive value. For the Old Colony, migration occurs when dissonance reaches an intolerable level. But migration is not the answer to the problems of the Old Colony as migration reduces one type of dissonance but increases another type. Thus, migration will never provide the Old Colony with structural stability, nor will it provide the sectarian with relief from personal restlessness and dissatisfaction.

The theory developed in this study seems to fulfill the general intent or purpose of acceptable scientific theory. However, other criteria should be examined to ascertain the validity of the theory.

Most empiricists would agree that in order for a theory to be of value, it must be testable. In other words, the primary requirement of a theory is that hypotheses deduced from the theory be subject to disconfirmation.

Disconfirmation of the theory developed in this study is certainly possible. Implicit throughout this thesis is Festinger's hypothesis that when dissonance reaches an intolerable level, some attempt is made to reduce dissonance. The present study further modifies this statement by analytically distinguishing between three types of dissonance--ideo-structural, sectarian and existential--common in a sect. Consequently, the specific hypothesis underlying this thesis is that among the Old Colony, the emergence of intolerable levels of ideo-structural, sectarian and existential dissonance will motivate attempts to reduce each type of dissonance for both the conservative and liberal factions. The study further specifies how such reduction of dissonance may be accomplished.

In order to test such an hypothesis, a scale might be established for measurement of dissonance. The purpose would be to be able to predict the point at which each type of dissonance becomes intolerable and some dissonance reducing mechanism is operationalized.

Since the migration to Bolivia was "stumbled upon" by sheer historical coincidence, the empirical evidence of dissonance was not gathered systematically from the start, as using the approach of dissonance theory had not yet been decided upon by the investigator.*

* This is not to imply that the present study does not provide empirical evidence of dissonance. On the contrary, personal statements of dissonance are numerous (for a summary of examples, see pages 196 - 198). Also, the structural seeds of dissonance are observed in the manner in which aspects of the traditional social structure and political organization are non-functional in Bluemenort prior to the Bolivian migration.

In brief, the empirical evidence of dissonance was not used to test, but to generate a theory. A more systematic, controlled test of the theory presented in this study remains to be done.

That this is both a legitimate and productive procedure is suggested by Sellitz et al (1959:492), when they state that "the contributions between theory and research are not all in one direction. Theory stimulates research and enhances the meaning of its findings; empirical research, on the other hand, serves to test existing theories and to provide a basis for the development of new ones."

Furthermore, particularly "in the social sciences at the present time...research more often has the function of contributing to the development of theory than to its testing" (Sellitz et al 1959:492). These contributions may be specifically planned or they may occur more or less accidentally. On one hand, the social scientist may plan a program of studies and research based upon either existing studies or upon problems and issues of personal interest. On the other hand,

research may also lead in unplanned ways to the initiation of theory. An investigation, whether it has its origin in some theoretical formulation or in a more trial and error approach, may yield an unexpected finding that seems surprising because it is incompatible with existing theories or with other facts. In his search for an explanation, the investigator may formulate a new hypothesis, which then becomes the basis for subsequent research (Sellitz et al 1959:496).

Summary and Conclusion

Despite some methodological difficulties created by the unexpected migration of members of Bluemenort from Canada to Bolivia (and also generated by the researcher's decision to take advantage of this unique opportunity to document the event by participating in the migration), this study accomplishes at least three significant objectives.

First, the research provides extensive ethnographic data pertaining to Old Colony Mennonites. More specifically, this data documents the social history of division and migration among the Old Colony, thus establishing the basis for greater understanding of persistence in a sect.

The field research represents one of the first major anthropological projects conducted among Canadian Old Colony Mennonites. Similarly, this project is one of the few (if not the first) occasions in which an individual of non-Mennonite descent has been allowed to conduct research among the Old Colony.

The data are distinctive also in that they indicate a significant amount of factionalism, schism and conflict within the Old Colony community. By comparison, other studies of Old Colony communities (e.g. Redekop 1969) are noteworthy for their lack of mention of such phenomena. In Bluemenort, factionalism, schism and conflict seem to be events of practical importance in the everyday affairs of the community.

The second contribution made by this study revolves around the utilization of selected elements of dissonance theory to interpret the historical and ethnographic data. Specifically, the analytic isolation of three types of dissonance provided a clear insight into the kinds of pressures experienced by sectarians as well as the range of alternatives which would allow for reduction of psychological tension. In this context, dissonance provides the motivational link between the structural and psychological problems of the sect and sectarian, respectively, and the alternatives which the sectarian may choose in attempting to cope with these problems.

The third objective accomplished by this thesis is the development of a theoretical model to explain socio-cultural persistence in a sect. The model suggests that the Old Colony move through a cyclical sequence of revitalization, encroachment, dissonance, division, isolation and again revitalization. The relationship between ideo-structural dissonance and sectarian dissonance not only explains the alternatives open to the sect in terms of division, but also demonstrates why the alternatives do not allow for more or less permanent solutions to problems as expected by the sectarian.

Apart from the objectives of the formal study, this thesis makes a further contribution in quite another sphere. The Appendix attempts to present an insight into the inner struggles, actions and responses of the anthropologist engaged in participant observation. The information is intended to complement the more formal aspect of the study

and also to indicate the subtle ways in which the anthropologist influences the community and gives direction to the field study. The inclusion of such subjective accounts in more anthropological research may provide helpful clues for the interpretation of empirical research.

While the present study makes some significant contributions to knowledge in anthropology, certain problems are also obvious. No attempt has been made to measure dissonance, a procedure which now must be left for further research. Again, the present study focuses upon the interpretation of a host of clues relating to dissonance and persistence in a sect. Further research would allow an opportunity to empirically confirm or disconfirm the theory established in this study.

It is hoped that at some future point in time, a comprehensive anthropological study may be completed in the presently conservative community of Bluemenort still existing in Bolivia. According to the model outlined on page , those who have returned from Bolivia to the original Bluemenort in Canada have opted (along with those who did not migrate in the first place) for eventual assimilation into the larger Canadian society. However, if the model has predictive value, those migrants remaining in Bolivia would be expected to attempt to move from a position of total theocratization (isolation) toward the position of a "part-society" (revitalization), and ultimately to a renewed cycle of secularization, dissonance and division.

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APPENDIX*

I entered Bluemenort for the first time in the spring of 1969 with Simon, a young Old Colony man who was at that time the only Old Colony person in attendance at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. Simon was returning home for the summer to work on his father's farm. During the academic year, he had completed his second undergraduate course in anthropology. Thus, when I presented to him an outline of my intended program of field research, and requested that I be allowed to accompany him back to Bluemenort, he was generally aware of the implications of my request.

Simon was intrigued by the thought of an anthropologist doing fieldwork in his home community. At the same time, he had a variety of misgivings particularly pertaining to rapport. He seemed quite pessimistic concerning community acceptance of me, a person who came from the city, was connected with the University, had no Mennonite background and did not speak the Low German dialect. Similarly, he felt somewhat uneasy about community reaction to him if I ever became a serious source of contention and individuals in Bluemenort knew that he had brought me into the community. This personal problem was

* The purpose of this appendix is solely to present in a highly subjective and journalistic manner some of the personal experiences of the anthropologist in the field. Hopefully this account will supplement the academic discourse comprising the main body of this document. In so doing, additional insight will be provided into some compelling methodological, theoretical and humanistic issues.

further enhanced by the fact that Simon was having a very difficult time trying to decide whether to leave Bluemenort permanently or to return and try to assume a role in the more or less traditional community.

Before arriving in Bluemenort, I had intended to rent a vacant teacherage from the local centralized school in LaCrete. For the first few days in the area, I stayed in the teacherage. However, after a few days, one of the local Old Colony offered his home to me as a place where I could receive food and lodging. I rapidly accepted this offer as it allowed me to live among the Old Colony of Bluemenort. Also, two or three days in the teacherage were all I needed to find out that this was the wrong place for me to be if I ever expected to participate in the affairs of Bluemenort. Thus, the offer of accommodation in an Old Colony home was the first positive sign that the community might accept me.

The weeks immediately following were overshadowed by a constant struggle for further acceptance into the community and attempts to dispell the fears of a variety of individuals that I was a "spy from the city". Recurrently I was tested by a number of individuals who questioned my intent in being in the community. One serious problem was that I was without visible means of support and it was extremely difficult to communicate the concept of a Canada Council grant being for academic purposes only. Members of Bluemenort had

difficulty understanding that such money could be granted with "no strings attached", that is, without a concomitant obligation on my part to supply the Federal Government with information concerning the community. I found it also very hard to explain academic anthropology to people who lived from day to day in "a very practical manner". In Old Colony society, one always behaved with a very pragmatic "end" in mind. Consequently, what was the point of spending time and money studying a community unless one was planning to use the information (by implication, the information would be used against the best interests of the community).

Gradually, however, various individuals accepted my explanations and rapport increased. A kite which I brought with me fascinated the children, and some of the adults decided that a person who took an interest in children could not be all bad. Also, immeasurable rapport was gained by working in the fields with the other adult males. Community members were continually surprised that someone who attended university could work hour for hour (and bale for bale) with the men of Bluemenort. This "field work" was undoubtedly one of the critical turning points in terms of winning the acceptance and respect of the community. Another critical point pertaining to rapport was the observable point that I was attempting to learn the traditional dialect. This had never happened before and was certainly more time-consuming than would be warranted by a government spy.

Within the first two or three months of field research, a variety of unique happenings provided further opportunities to consolidate rapport. A fire at one of the Old Colony farms allowed an opening to be of some specific help in a crisis situation. More important, however, was the fact that the fire was the subject of endless conversation, and having been a participant in the action, I was able to gain entry to many conversations in exclusive men's groups by being able to include my firsthand account of the happening.

Again, I was involved in an auto accident with an Old Colony man. The man hit my car from behind on a very dusty road and was consequently at fault. While there was fairly extensive damage done to both vehicles, nobody was injured. Nonetheless, the Old Colony community waited to see if I would press the issue to court to receive payment for damages, as the man who hit me did not have insurance. As I found later, if I had pressed the issue to court, I would have automatically defined myself out of the community. But I let the issue drop and most individuals agreed that an "outsider" would not have behaved in this way. Through this incident, the man who hit me became a good friend and helped me immensely in the capacity of an informant.

Another important incident was when I rented some horses from an "English" man living near Ft. Vermilion. After I had the animals for about ten days, the man reneged on his agreement and wanted the horses back. The horses were eventually returned, but not before

most of the community of Bluemenort came to my defense. Ultimately, the problem was defined by the community as another example of an "outsider", an "English" person doing an injustice to a member of the ingroup (in this case, I was defined strongly into the group).

Just as everything seemed to be going well from the perspective of rapport (by this time some three months of field research had elapsed), I took a brief trip outside the village with one of the members of Bluemenort. I was absent from the community for three days. Upon my return, I was given a fairly "cold" reception, even by a number of persons in Bluemenort who had become very friendly indeed. In trying to find somebody who would articulate the problem for me, Simon once again came to my aid. Apparently an Alberta government fieldworker for the Human Resources Development Authority had come into Bluemenort while I had been away from the community. His purpose was to do a survey to "determine the men of knowledge in the community who would reveal who the men of influence are." This information would be introduced into a program of planned change for the Old Colony community.

In making enquiries, the field worker from HRDA met with a very unfriendly response from the Old Colony. Thus, in an effort to gain some information, the government man began questioning the "English" on the periphery of the Old Colony community. From the superintendent of the school district, he learned that an anthropologist had made inroads into the community. The government

man tried to find me, and determining that I was absent from Bluemenort, he proceeded to make calls from farm to farm, telling the Old Colony that he was affiliated with me in the hope that members of the community would answer his questions. Hence, by the time that I arrived back in Bluemenort, I had been effectively blacklisted again as a "government spy". Many months of field research had apparently been nullified.

Upon assessing the predicament, events appeared black indeed. The news that I was a spy had passed rapidly through the community. My problem could not be solved by speaking to only a few select persons. The confrontation was now with the whole community. The only advantage I had was that Peter presented the problem to me immediately upon my return, before I had made my first appearance in public.

Anger, resentment and disappointment were in the forefront of my initial emotional reaction. I could not escape the feeling that I had been "sold down the river" by a government opportunist. This must be how the Old Colony feel when they perceive that they have been "taken advantage of". And that provided my answer! I went from farm to farm in Bluemenort, in a fit of indignation trying to find out where the government man was who had taken advantage of my friendship with the Old Colony in order to gain information for the government. The intensity of my stormy response at first baffled some of my Old Colony friends. But it took a very short time for

them to formulate the picture that again the government had tried to take advantage of a member of their community (me). What began as a very black day emerged as the last time I really had to fight for rapport with the members of Bluemenort in Alberta. Again, the community was in the position of defending me.

To this point, I have concentrated perhaps unduly upon the problem of general rapport with members of the community of Bluemenort. Yet, when I review my field notes and reflect upon events in the first months of living in Bluemenort, I see intense emotional and psychological pressure upon myself in relation to this problem. The deeper I saw into community affairs, the more compelling was the intensity of xenophobia in the group. But as time passed on, even several members of the community expressed their surprise at themselves and at the village as a whole concerning their rapid acceptance of my presence and participation in community affairs.

On one occasion, a man in the village initiated a private discussion with me on this issue. He was amazed at the way he and the rest of the community had responded positively toward me in such a short time. After some discussion, we concluded that many characteristics of my personality and background had mitigated in my favor. I had come from a conservative, sectarian background in which restrictions of various kinds had been a part of everyday living. Consequently, it was not difficult to accommodate to a way of life which many non-Old Colony would have perceived as overly repressive.

I obviously had knowledge of the Bible, so I was not regarded as being religiously ignorant. My personality, not overly extroverted, seemed to be similar to that of most Old Colony men. But when I enquired of my friend concerning the one characteristic which impressed him as favorable more than any other thing, he replied, "Your wife dresses modestly".*

As is the case with most anthropologists, I underwent a variety of emotional responses to various social situations. Many of these responses were based upon "culture shock", and as such, provided me with positive and negative insights into myself and the socio-cultural system into which I had been socialized. Four emotional problems seem to have been of particular significance: (1) coping with factionalism in the context of gaining entry into the community; (2) stemming from the same principle, the problem of whether or not to ally myself with one family; (3) the strictly subjective issue of what the future holds for the young people of Bluemenort; (4) the intervention of economic attitudes and values into areas which my own culture defines as ideally free from economic "exploitation". I shall systematically elaborate on each of these issues.

* My wife was with me in the field for the months of July and August. During that time, she was able to collect a variety of information from women which I never could have acquired. She dressed in the same manner as the Old Colony women. One day, a man asked me if my wife dressed like the Old Colony when she was at home in Edmonton. When I replied negatively, he then wanted to know why she dressed in Old Colony style in Bluemenort. I told him that when we were in Bluemenort, we felt it was necessary to accept the norms and values of the community so as not to offend any persons in the community. This explanation was accepted as valid to the extent that it was used as a model for some of the young people in the community who were substituting "English" styles and customs for traditional practices.

First, in the initial stages of fieldwork, I found myself unexpectedly confronting a society which is crosscut by factionalism. From an extremely personal vantage point, personal conflict and strife is very difficult for me to confront without intense psychological stress. I believe that my problem may be summarized concisely by an excerpt from my field notes which is more a commentary upon the anthropologist than upon the members of Bluemenort.

There is absolutely no preparation given in anthropology (as an undergraduate or graduate student) for the kinds of problems I have been confronting here in the last few days. I seem to be walking a tightrope between two groups or between a number of groups in attempting not to hurt any and remain friends of all. As I reflect upon the problem tonight, I can see it clearly implied in Bowen's book (*Return to Laughter*), but I have never perceived the problem or discussed it in a significant manner. I feel that if I ever teach a course in anthropological field method in the future, this point cannot be stressed too much.

Second, as my field experience continued, I came to the point where I clearly had to decide whether to align myself (in essence, to be adopted) with one family or to try to hold to a more neutral position. The latter course of action would diffuse an element of personal guilt which I associated with "manipulating" individuals to achieve the goals of field research. The former alternative would define me into a category of "inheriting" groups of relatives, friends and enemies. My personal values again mitigated against premeditatedly assuming enemies of any kind. Such are the values of a certain interpretation of Western liberalism. Ultimately, I resolved the problem by opting for de facto adoption into a

specific family. The implications of this action changed the entire future course of my fieldwork, both positively and negatively. On one hand, I was allowed a much deeper insight into interpersonal relationships in Bluemenort. In a sense, I no longer simply observed conflict and factionalism, but I became by definition a participant. On the other hand, this very participation designated groups in society which would be closed to me. Nowhere is this more clear than in events which took place months later in the new Bluemenort in Bolivia.

Third, I was often personally distressed when I reflected upon the future which is possible for the young people in Bluemenort. Parents would take their children out of school as soon as possible, often before the child had acquired skills which would lead to survival in the "outside world". At the same time, it seems readily apparent that the Old Colony cannot resist the encroachment of the "world" forever. Petty as it may seem, this issue often occupied my culturally conditioned imagination.

The fourth problem of personal emotional significance to me in the field was by far the most serious. As suggested in Chapter Four, almost all daily activities have economic overtones. This attitude is so prevalent that very few things can be done involving mutual aid without economic compensation being offered. If one individual is at the district post office collecting his own mail, and he also picks up his neighbor's mail, the neighbor must ask

how much he owes for this service. Even the most menial tasks must be compensated for by cash payment or return of service. This was something which I had extreme difficulty accepting regardless of the direction of my participation. I did not like to ask "how much do I owe you" any more than I appreciated the question being asked of me.

In confronting the problem, I asked "Father"** for an explanation of why this question should be asked. He replied simply that "that is your duty" (an answer, incidentally, which did not sit well with a student who had undergone intensive socialization in university to question all experience).**

In spite of the fact that I decided to discipline myself to generally adhere to customary behavior, the frustration and general distaste associated with this action seemed to continually weigh upon me. I finally decided that I would make my problem known to some individuals with whom I was closely associated every day.

* "Father" refers to the old man with whom I stayed. For practical purposes, he adopted me into his family.

** Being treated like a child who required extensive socialization was another interesting experience. Although I appreciated the problem from the perspective of the Old Colony (and also appreciated and manipulated the "immunity from sanction due to ignorance" which accompanied this role), I had to exercise a measure of self-discipline to overcome some negative feelings toward this process. I had come from a society which responded to me by validating my usefulness as a socialized adult and a relatively highly educated individual. I had a propensity toward wounded pride when the majority of the members of society in Bluemenort presumed my basic ignorance not only of specialized activities and knowledge, but also of essential aspects of humanness as defined by Old Colony society.

After discussing the issue with a few "brothers and sisters", I found that they tended to downplay the importance of the custom in my presence. But rightly or wrongly, the day came when the issue encroached upon my psyche in a direct confrontation with Father.

I saw Father walking along the road toward home. He was about a half mile from home when I passed him in the car and picked him up as I was going in his direction anyway. When I let him out of the car in the farmyard, he turned to me as usual and asked "how much do I owe you?" (He knew, incidentally, that the question bothered me.) In a challenging tone, I replied "Five thousand dollars". Father and I stared each other down for two or three minutes. Then the faintest smile crossed his face and he went into the house. He never again asked me that question. It was also the last time that we had even a mild disagreement.

Most social scientists assume that the anthropologist doing field research has a profound effect upon the community which he studies. While this is a reasonable assumption based upon a variety of data, it is not always obvious what the specific effects of one's presence are. Systematic experimentation with this problem would undoubtedly be a revelation to anthropologists.

However, in Bluemenort, no matter how diligently I tried to minimize any influence which might be directive, the problem still

arose. One incident which illustrates this point occurred a few weeks before the first group of migrants left for Bolivia.

Due to an absence of mass media in the community, members of Bluemenort were unaware that a coup d'etat had taken place in Bolivia. Two days before the first group left for Bolivia, a letter arrived from a member of the Worsley community who had migrated earlier. The letter not only gave the members of Bluemenort their first word of the revolution, but also implied some negative effects of the revolution on the Old Colony population in Bolivia. Dissonance was never more acute in the community of prospective migrants.

Immediately upon receiving the letter, two of the young heads of families about to migrate came to see me. They were extremely upset by news of the revolution. After a brief discussion, they came directly to the point of their visit. "You are worldly wise and know the meaning of relationships between nations of the world. In view of the revolution in Bolivia, would you advise us to abandon migration?"

As soon as the question was posed, I realized the implications of the situation. First, they would do what I advised. Second, they did not mean that the whole group would abandon migration, but simply that they would withdraw their own families from the migrating group and allow the others to proceed if they chose to do so.

My first response was to try to avoid the question. They would not allow me to do so. I then pointed out the possible negative implications of migrating. At the same time, I told them that from my own cultural viewpoint they had convinced numerous people to migrate. They had been directly responsible for persuading members of the village to sell all their belongings (at tremendous financial loss) in order to make the move. Did they not have a responsibility to the group?*

After presenting these views, I told them that I could not make their decision. After much discussion, they arrived at a conclusion. They would place some money in a Canadian bank (without telling other community members) so that if events turned out badly in Bolivia, they could return to Canada. This solution allowed for return in case of disaster, but also enabled them not to "lose face" in relation to other members of the migrating group. Nevertheless, I have often pondered the meaning and effect of my answer to my Old Colony friends. I have always felt mixed guilt and vindication in the light of later events in South America.

By the late fall of 1969, most of the community had moved south. I left Bluemenort in Alberta for Edmonton where I intended

* I must re-emphasize that I pointed out to the two men that my statements concerning "responsibility" came from my personal cultural background. I realized they were foreign to Old Colony attitudes. But, had they not questioned me on the basis of my "worldly knowledge"?

to stay for a month while receiving the required immunizations for entering Bolivia. I also wanted to do some research regarding the implications of entering Bolivia as an anthropologist.

During this time I received two or three letters from various members of "my family". I had written asking how things were going, and also doublechecking with them that I should go to Bolivia also. I wondered if some of the members of the Worsley villages might be against my arrival as they had never met me. The sole response to this question was, "your friends will all accept you gladly, but be prepared for opposition." If I had realized the prophetic nature of the last phrase, I may have been tempted to spend the remainder of the winter skiing in the Rockies rather than migrating to Bolivia.

I arrived in Santa Cruz following a gruelling four day trip into east-central Bolivia. I met David (the head of the family with whom I would stay, and "Father's" son-in-law) on the edge of the plaza in Santa Cruz. The event was indeed like the meeting of brothers separated for a long time.

Almost immediately, however, David hesitatingly told me that I would have to return to Canada on the first plane possible. The news stunned my worn out system. As my mind refused to absorb and accept the statement, I decided that he was simply joking. However, he explained that the council of ministers which was dominated by

clergy from the three Worsley villages had issued strict orders that he was to send me immediately back to Canada. They feared that I was a spy from the Canadian Government.

David was extremely distraught by the message which he bore. I must admit that I felt a bit sick myself. But my curiosity was doubly stimulated at the same time. I was convinced that David was not telling me the whole story. When I suggested that we go back to the village anyway in the hope that I could present my case directly to the ministers and defend myself, he readily agreed. The same day, we travelled northwest from the savanna grasslands of Santa Cruz to the sub-tropical rainforest in which the new Bluemenort was situated.

Upon arriving in Bluemenort, it did not take long before I found out that I had been a political pawn in a series of power struggles in the community. My "family" and their supporters greeted me with immense enthusiasm. A few additional families were neither enthused nor bothered by my arrival. Father's brother and his extended family (Father's brother was the head minister who had aspirations involving becoming the new bishop in Bolivia) sided with the Worsley faction and were unanimously against my presence in the village.

When Father had first arrived in Bolivia, he lived on the same tract of land with his brother, the head minister. But it did not take long for them to renew an old feud and Father promptly

moved to the property of his son-in-law. Evidently in the process of recrimination and counter-recremation, my immanent arrival in Bolivia was added to the list of issues of contention between the two factions.

When I became aware of the background of the problem, my first act was to send a message to the council of ministers asking them for an opportunity to appeal my case. They did not reply to my request. The only response was to summon most of my male "relatives" to Dunnedauh to reprove them for their conduct. My relatives did not accept the situation quietly, but defended themselves as a group as well as individually. The series of confrontations further reinforced the boundaries of the factions involved. Father's brother had "religious office and authority" on his side. Father commanded a larger faction including members of his extended family and friends who were sympathizers. And I must emphasize that my presence in the village was only one among many issues which were contentious.

The ministers restricted my movements to David's land. They tried to keep "family" and friends from seeing me. However, at night, family and friends moved me from house to house for clandestine visits or they came to my house for the same purpose. While I was afraid at first that the result of such activities would be that my access to field data would be severely restricted, the eventual outcome was just the opposite. Anything which happened in the village

took only a few minutes to be transmitted along the grapevine to both factions. In many ways, access to information had never been so complete.

By the time I arrived in Bolivia, one family had already moved back to Canada and Father and several of his children had announced their intention to do so. This was the focal problem in the factionalism which existed in the village. My arrival was viewed by both factions (for different reasons and in different ways) as the symbolization of things Canadian. This was one prime example of the effect of my presence in the village.

Ultimately, the ministers began exerting a wide range of sanctions against the pro-Canadian group. While these sanctions pertained to such spheres as economics, politico-religious participation, and so on, a variety of psychological sanctions were used. These included rumor, slander, physical threats and the "you are acting against God's will and God will punish" ploy.

These sanctions did not have the intended effect of modifying behavior toward the conformity desired by the ministers. Instead, the pro-Canada faction reacted by more strongly restating their intention to move back to Alberta. But the sanctions did increase psychological tension in members of the pro-Canada faction. In the middle of a particularly tense period, David suddenly asked me one day, "This is a bad question because I know the answer, but are you here with us only because you have to get information for school or

will you be my friend and brother throughout my lifetime?" From time to time, I have had difficult questions posed to me, but I do not recollect a query which has cut through me like this one did. I have argued endlessly around the seminar table concerning the task, theory, method and purpose of anthropology, but the basic issues had never been summarized quite so concisely or existentially. I answered that I could see no problem in being both scientist and human being, but if it came to a choice, I would have to opt in favor of the latter. (I have noticed that back in the seminar room after completion of field work, it is somewhat more difficult to recollect the burning clarity of my response to David's question.)

After I had been in Bluemenort for about six weeks, events reached a final point of crisis. Two situations precipitated the problem. A member of the pro-Bolivia faction threatened to shoot me and all immediate members of the family with which I was staying, if I did not leave within ten days. Also, Father and all members of his extended family had decided to return to Canada almost immediately. As a result, my sanctuary in the village would be removed.

On the morning of the tenth day after the threat, I made my way toward Santa Cruz. A few weeks later, I arrived back in Canada. Very shortly thereafter, Father, his other sons and daughters and several other families returned to Alberta.

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